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Volodymyr Vynnychenko and the Bolsheviks: A Study of the Political Evolution of a Ukrainian Revolutionary

by

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Bohdan Krawchenko

Supervisor

Date 30 September 1985

For my parents, with love.

Abstract

A description of Volodymyr Vynnychenko's life history provides the basis for a detailed examination of the political evolution of one of Ukraine's most talented and popular writers and most controversial political leaders of the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Vynnychenko's personal ethical system of "honesty with oneself" served to guide him in his roles as a leading member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, then the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party, and the Ukrainian Communist Party, and finally as the first Prime Minister of Ukraine and the first President of the Directory of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic.

Vynnychenko's repeated attempts to cooperate with Bolshevik leaders in negotiating the recognition and guarantee of Ukrainian national rights met with failure.

Being unable to reconcile himself to the Bolsheviks' "hypocricy, brutality, slovenly methods, and lack of ethical attempts and desires to conciliate their words with their deeds," Vynnychenko rejects offers to become the deputy head of the Soviet of People's Commissars and the Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and leaves the Soviet Union forever to warn the world of the dangers to World Revolution of the Russian Communist Party's destructive, centralist politics.

Acknowlegements

Researching the topic of this thesis, I have had the pleasure of meeting and receiving advice and assistance from a variety of people. The persistent prodding and questioning of my work by my thesis advisor Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko provided me with many critical insights into various aspects of Ukrainian politics and encouraged me to methodically apply those insights in examining my chosen topic. His assistance was invaluable.

Anyone involved in studying the history of Ukraine will be familiar with the problems involved in locating and acquiring the necessary primary documents. Helpful in this regard has been Mr. Malanchuk, whose access to material in the New York Public Library and to Vynnychenko's archive at Columbia University, provided him with valuable leads as to the location of rare materials, which he occassionaly made available to students of Vynnychenko's heritage.

Similarly, Dr. James Mace of Harvard University was kind enough to provide a few documents, the importance of which I realized only after a considerable deal of analysis.

The staff of Widener Library (the Slavic and East European Studies section) and of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute made my stay there in the summer of 1983 enjoyable and more fruitful than I could have ever expected. Special thanks in this regard go to Oksana Procyk, a librarian at Widener Library.

Professor Tova Yedlin and Dr. Myroslav Yurkevich frequently raised my spirits by turning my attention to new sources on Ukrainian and Russian intellectual history, for which I remain grateful.

Finally, I would like to thank the staff at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies who provided me with the material resources and intellectual atmosphere which made work on this topic a challenging and truly rewarding experience.

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1. THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING VYNNYCHENKO: AN INTRODUCTION

When Ivan Dziuba, a prominent Soviet Ukrainian literary critic of the 1960s, formulated his critique of the Soviet Union's nationalities policies, one of his points touched upon the refusal of the authorities to rehabilitate Volodymyr Vynnychenko.[1] This protest against persistent efforts to erase all traces of the memory of this century's most famous and controversial Ukrainian writer and political leader found resonance among the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia.[2] The barage of official condemnations of dissidents who attempted to rehabilitate Volodymyr Vynnychenko revealed the Soviet authorities' continued sensitivity to the questions raised by Dziuba.[3]

To understand contemporary Soviet attitudes towards Volodymyr Vynnychenko and towards those who call for his rehabilitation, it is necessary to understand the sources and nature of Vynnychenko's political philosophy and of the impact of his ideas on vast layers of Ukrainian and Russian people during the first two decades of this century. Specifically, an examination of Vynnychenko's criticisms of the role of Russian Social Democracy in general and the role of Bolsheviks in particular in the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-21 will reveal the immediate reasons for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's (CPSU) continued hostility to Vynnychenko's ideas and its fear of the growth of interest in his literary and political writings.

---

[1] See Ivan Dziuba, **Internatsionalizm chy rusyfikatsiia?** (Munich, 1968): 181.

[2] See for example, issues of **Ukrainskyi visnyk** published illegally in Ukraine. The earliest such call came in 1945: Ivan Pilhuk, **Narys istorii ukrainskoi literatury** (Kiev, 1945). See also Ivan Svitlychnyi's articles -- "Suchasne ukrainske literaturoznavstvo," **Ukrainskyi kalendar 1966** (Warsaw, 1966): 274-5; "Naperedodni istoryko-literaturnoho syntezu," **Dnipro** 12 (Dec 1964); Mykhailo Melnyk, "Do ukrainskoi hrupy spryiannia vykonanniu helsinskykh uhod," [abridged] in **Informatsiini biuleteni: Ukrainskoi hromadskoi hrupy spryiannia vykonanniu helsinskykh uhod** (Toronto-Baltimore, 1981): 101-6; Antin Koval, "Vidkrytyi lyst do deputativ rad URSR," in **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka v 20 stolitti** (New York, 1983): 253; and Iurii Bad'zo, "Vidkrytyi lyst do prezydii Verkhovnoi Rady Soiuzu RSR ta tsentralnoho komitetu KPRS," in ibid., pp. 328-62.

[3] For examples, see Borys Lewytzkyj, **Politics and Society in Soviet Ukraine, 1953-1980** (Edmonton, 1983): 186.

In the USSR a major problem in studying Volodymyr Vynnychenko's political ideas and his role in Ukrainian history involves the censorship, distortion and suppression of articles by, and about Vynnychenko and people closely connected to him. Soviet censors seem to spare no effort to erase the name of Vynnychenko from the political and literary records under their control. Thus, for instance, in the bibliographic collection compiled by I. Z. Boiko[4] we find Vynnychenko's name and his works *completely ommitted* from every single almanach and every literary collection where he was published from 1903-1917.[5] Indeed, in compiling bibliographies, Soviet researchers have deleted all references to Vynnychenko's writings in the fields of political science, history and literary criticism. They have also sought to expunge his contributions in such seemingly less sensitive areas as children's stories,[6] drama, and linguistics.[7]

---

[4] I. Z. Boiko, comp., **Ukrainski literaturni almanakhy i zbirnyky XIX - pochatku XX st.: Bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk** (Kiev, 1967).

[5] Among a few of the almanachs were his works appeared yet all references to them were ommitted include:
1. **Dzvin: Zbirnyk 1** (Kiev, 1907). [Volodymyr Vynnychenko. "Shchabli zhyttia: Piesa na 4 rozdily," pages 9-152. --ommitted.] See Boiko, page 145; and
2. **Na vichnu pam'iat Kotliarevskomu: Literaturnyi zbirnyk** (Kiev, 1904). [Pages unaccounted for in Boiko include: 299-339; 409-424 and 495-510.] See Boiko, pages 119-120.

Soviet suppression of Vynnychenko's place in Ukrainian history is tied to the larger problem of the CPSU's basis of legitimacy. Soviet historians selectively draw from the writings of such famous national Ukrainian figures as Taras Shevchenko, Mykhailo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko, and Lesia Ukrainka in an attempt to construct a history of Ukraine which has as its main tenent the notion that the strengthening of social, economic, and political ties between Ukraine and Russia was the main motor force of all progress in Ukraine. The small problem emerges, however, that the above mentioned figures believed that exactly such ties contributed to Ukraine's increasing impoverishment -- economically, politically, and intellectually. Thus, direct quotations from these authors' works on this subject become scarcer and scarcer in Soviet texts, and their collected works appear in thinner volumes and in smaller runs. Lesia

---

[6] Vynnychenko's most popular short story (at least among publishers) was a story for children. "Khvedko khalamydnyk" was published in 32 different editions. See appendix 2.

[7] Thus such standard reference works on the above mentioned subjects avoid any mention of Vynnychenko: D.M. Biletskyi and Iu.P. Stupak, **Ukrainska dytiacha literatura** (Kiev, 1963); M.L. Honcharuk, **Ukrainska satyra periodu revoliutsii, 1905-1907 rokiv** (Kiev, 1966); V.S. Bilova, comp., **Khrestomatiia z ukrainskoi literatury** (Lviv, 1966).

Ukrainka's, Ivan Franko's, and Mohylianskyi's articles on Vynnychenko are suppressed. The logic of the situation leads Soviet Ukrainian historians to the distortion of history, to a negation of their own history. But the issue is not merely the suppression of the writings of a few intellectuals. Scores of writers, tens of thousands of revolutionaries and hundreds of thousands of readers were influenced by Volodymyr Vynnychenko. To erase this heritage is not easy. Vynnychenko's continued relevance is one reason why a thorough analysis of Vynnychenko's ideas and of the generations he helped form is needed.

Another is that suppressing information about Vynnychenko is not the monopoly of Soviet scholars. Ukrainian emigre writers and historians have also denied Vynnychenko's importance as a political leader and as one of Ukraine's greatest literary figures.[8] A review of any Ukrainian periodical published during Ukrainian Independence Day celebrations (in the month of January) reveals the extent to which journalists and editors attempt to omit any reference to the main architect of Ukrainian statehood, and one of the most popular of Ukrainian writers during the first two decades of this century.

Vynnychenko is certainly a controversial personality, both in the Soviet Union and in the West. No other Ukrainian political leader, except perhaps, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, has occassioned such heated debate. This is because Vynnychenko's fate is closely intertwined with the failure of the Ukrainian national liberation movement to achieve independence during the revolution of 1917-20. When many of that revolution's participants immigrated to Western Europe and North America in the wake of the political and military defeats of the Ukrainian national movement, they proceeded to reassess the stormy events and processes of the Ukrainian Revolution. Petliura, Hrushevskyi, and Vynnychenko received most of their attention. It was, however, Vynnychenko who received the most severe and varied criticism for his role in the Ukrainian Revolution. The judgement passed then is repeated today by many writers. However, much of the criticism contains erroneous interpretations of Vynnychenko's politics. Moreover, some new studies published in the West, have belittled Vynnychenko's role in such key events as the establishment of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic (Ukrainska Narodnia Respublyka -- UNR) and of the first Ukrainian government, known as the General Secretariat (Heneralnyi Sekretariiat). In the course of our thesis we will review critically the most important works about Vynnychenko in an effort to separate myth from reality.

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[8] For example, mention of Vynnychenko is completely avoided in N. Kohuska, "Vydatni postati v ukrainskii literaturi" as well as in S. Stechyshyn, "Vydatni postati v istorii Ukrainy," in **Narysy z istorii ukrainskoi kultury** (Edmonton, 1984), 1: 9-121 and 77-169.

Vynnychenko occupied a unique position on the stage of the Ukrainian Revolution. Caught in the centre of the political and military struggles between Bolsheviks and anti-Bolshevik forces, he had a good vantage point from which to witness the behaviour of all major political leaders in Ukraine and Russia. In his role as mediator between right and left-wing forces in his government, as well as between Ukraine and Russia, Vynnychenko gained valuable insights into the major problems of the Ukrainian Revolution. As mediator between uncompromising nationalist and socialist groups, Vynnychenko was forced to develop an effective critique of both. In this thesis, although we will focus on the development of Vynnychenko's critique of the Russian Communist Party and of its activities in Ukraine, we will not neglect his views on the Ukrainian nationalists, since both themes are closely related in Vynnychenko's thought.

To understand Vynnychenko's critique of the Bolsheviks, it is crucial that we understand the *social milieu* in which he grew up and to which he was tied by a variety of experiences which proved strong enough to hold his allegiance during times of crisis, yet not being too overwhelming, thus permitting him a certain degree of relative intellectual independence and objectivity. This aspect will be discussed in our second chapter.

Volodymyr Vynnychenko's theoretical work on the nature of Russian communism, his critique of the Bolsheviks, was the first, coherent analysis to be carried out by a leader of the first socialist country to be invaded by Bolshevik-ruled Russia. It was also the precursor to the criticisms of the Bolsheviks by most oppositional currents within the Russian Communist Party (RCP) and within the international communist movement. His stature as a pan-European writer and his links with leaders of many Social Democratic and Communist parties throughout Europe and North America gave to his criticisms of the Bolsheviks an international character which made that criticism more powerful, long-lasting, and widespread. Major oppositions in the RCP, such as the Workers' Opposition and the Left Opposition, would later repeat and further develop their criticisms of the RCP on the basis of Vynnychenko's theoretical elaboration found in **Nova doba** in his numerous letters and articles, but especially in his once famous **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi** [The Revolution Endangered], published in 1920.[7]

Vynnychenko's repeated attempts to cooperate with the Bolsheviks (before September-October 1920), his critique of capitalism, and his hostility to the socialists of the Second International to some extent neutralized Bolshevik criticisms of him as a bourgeois nationalist, and in this way legitimized his ideas in the eyes of oppositionists in the RCP. Similarly, his condemnation of the Bolsheviks as Russian Great-Power nationalists, neutralized right-wing criticisms of him as a pro-Soviet communist. By delving into Vynnychenko's unique political profile, we may come to understand its contradictory nature.

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[7] Translated into seven languages, **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi** became the rallying call of many opponents of the RCP and the RCP-dominated Third International.

There is another issue with which Vynnychenko became involved, and to which he contributed many theoretical insights. This was the question of the importance he attached to the personal responsibilities and duties of each member of a collectivity to that collectivity. Vynnychenko's belief that society could best be served when every member was truly honest with himself -- and was therefore responsible for, and accountable to himself -- came into sharp conflict with the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP) and with the Bolsheviks' understanding of the primacy of the party over the individual. The success of the Bolsheviks in capturing power in one of the most repressive regimes in Europe, initially gave to the Leninist type of party organization the legitimacy and resources to command and shape the entire Marxist movement; parties, programs and strategies found themselves subject to the suasions of Russian communist leaders. The Leninist type of party organization, its functioning and the Russian communist party's relationship to other political currents invariably became the model for many socialist groups throughout the world. This unfortunate development -- unfortunate to people dealing with, as well as participating in Leninist type parties under different socio-economic and political conditions -- was first and most poignantly revealed in Ukraine. The experience of the Ukrainian socialists provides an abundance of examples of the dangers of uncritically accepting certain basic political tenets without regard to local circumstances. One of the most influential Ukrainian socialists of the first two decades of the 20th century -- Vynnychenko, was at the centre of the political struggles between the Bolsheviks on the one hand, and all the other socialist groups, on the other.[10] These political struggles involved, in their basics, differing interpretations of the role of the party in revolutionary upheavals and reconstruction of society, the relationships between the individual and the party, and the relationships between socio-economic conditions and political strategy to conquer state power. It also involved differing interpretations of the origins of oppression and alienation. For, missing from the Leninist *practice* of revolutionary activity was an understanding of the nature of the alienation resulting from both individual and national oppression and underdevelopment. It was Vynnychenko's revolutionary theory and practice which provided one of the first notable examples, for Ukrainian and Russian workers, peasants and intellectuals, of what can be termed a principled socialist politics.

---

[10] It is true that Vynnychenko stole away to Vienna in March 1919 at the peak of these struggles, but his role was just beginning to make its most profound impact on the people and events of this turbulent period -- as we shall see below.

2. VOLODYMYR VYNNYCHENKO: A BIOGRAPHY

2.1 Introductory Comments

This thesis has as its general task, the examination of what Hryhorii Kostiuk calls the fourth aspect of the problematic of Volodymyr Vynnychenko's heritage -- the social-political one.[1] Of course, it is inevitable that in such an investigation the other three aspects (i.e. the biographical, the historico-literary, and the philosophical-aesthetic) should also be examined, if only briefly, since the interaction of all these aspects and their interrelation with each other, fully reveal the psychological profile, skills, abilities and handicaps, as well as the accomplishments of this century's most famous, yet controversial, Ukrainian writer and politician.

In connection with the study of Vynnychenko's criticism of the Bolsheviks, it is important to remember that in politics in particular, the dimension of space, and especially of time, should not be left out of any segment of the analysis. Timing is crucial. What political leaders or philosphers say on any matter -- which is one aspect of their ideology -- must be studied in its context. Reproducing *content* without its *context* leaves us with nothing more than half-truths.

An analysis of Volodymyr Kyrylovych Vynnychenko's role in the history of Ukraine also demands a thorough study of all his writings. Knowledge of Vynnychenko's works and of their publishing history will permit us to begin to understand the impact of his ideas on the political events of 1917-20. It is with this in mind that a comprehensive bibliography of the works of Volodymyr Vynnychenko[12], as well as works about him[13], has been compiled. A careful examination of the over 365 of Vynnychenko's writings with reference to the period in which each separate work was written, will assist us in revealing his political evolution. Due to the difficulty of identifying, locating and comparing many documents signed by Vynnychenko in his role as Prime Minister (as head of the General Secretariat) and then President of Ukraine (as head of the Directory), and due to the previous publication of various versions of his writings under various titles in different languages, it is useful to list his works in chronological order. This has been done and can be found in Appendix II.

---

[1] Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Deiaki problemy naukovoho vyvchennia V. Vynnychenka," **Suchasnist** 11 (Nov 1971): 81.

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[12] See Appendix I.

[13] See the bibliography preceding the appendices.

2.2 Early Childhood Influences

From the few available sources on Volodymyr Vynnychenko's biography,[14] it appears that Vynnychenko was born on July 27 1880[15] in a large village formerly called Velykyi kut which was in Vytiazivska volost (district) in Ielyzavethrad povit (county) in Khersonska guberniia (province).

For our purposes here, what is important is the fact that Vynnychenko was born, and grew up in an area that had some of the highest percentages of migrants from other parts of Ukraine and Russia looking for employment in this area.[16] Also, the nearest large city - Ielysavethrad (now Kirovohrad) - was the largest trade centre in southern Ukraine[17] with four national trade fairs occurring every year. In the surrounding countryside, approximately 200 villages would be visited by these fairs. The growth of mercantile capitalism, as represented by these fairs, stimulated the growth of industry. By 1850, the region had over 200 factories producing a variety of products such as paper, glass, potash, lime, saltpetre, sugar, soap, skins, bricks, wine and other agricultural goods with the help of over 3,500 windmills and a seemingly endless supply of cheap labour. Ielysavethrad, Bobrynets, Novoukrainka, Znamianka and Dolynsk - all towns in Kirovohrad oblast - became centres not only of trade in goods, but also of trade in labour. Since over 43% of the workers in the 100 large agricultural plantations of Ielysavethrad were hired on a daily basis[18] there was a constant turnover and a large pool of unemployed agricultural workers who travelled across the country looking for employment. Some of the details of his childhood environment worthy of mention include the fact that the largest annual fair in Ukraine -- the Gregorian Fair -- took place in Ielysavethrad. Ielysavethrad was a centre of trade and commerce. It was also a centre of revolutionary activity. The large-scale unemployment and the growing socio-economic differentiation of the peasantry created a situation where massive, repeated peasant disturbances were common. The Gregorian Fair was also the location of one of the first pogroms in the Russian Empire. Growing up as a child here, Vynnychenko had many opportunities to become sensitized to the life of the large Jewish community. This aspect of his life has never been analyzed, yet, it offers significant clues to an understanding of his later political activities as the Prime Minister and then President of Ukraine, when pogroms in 1918 to 1920 wrecked havoc throughout Ukraine.

---

[14] See V. Vynnychenko, "Biohrafichni dani," **Pravda** 3 (Winnipeg, 20 Jan 1937): 2; 4 (27 Jan 1937): 3; Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Pysmennytska tvorchist V. Vynnychenka: Sproba sotsiolohichnoi analizy** (Kharkiv, 1929); Andrii Richytskyi, **Volodymyr Vynnychenko v literaturi i politytsi: Zbirka stattei** (Kharkiv, 1928); Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho ostannii roman," **Volodymyr Vynnychenko: 'Slovo za toboiu Staline'** (New York, 1971): 7-67; **Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho doba: Doslidzhennia, krytyka, polemika** (New York, 1980); and **Volodymyr Vynnychenko: Statti i materiialy** (New York, 1953).

[15] Prince Urusov. "Honchyi lyst za V. Vynnychenkom 1903 roku," **Ukraina: Naukovyi zhurnal ukrainoznavstva** 38 (Kiev, December 1929): 105.

[16] **Istoriia mist i sil: Kirovohradska oblast**, pp. 28-9.

[17] Ibid., p. 23.

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[18] Ibid., p. 29.

Vynnychenko grew up in the midst of massive unemployment and poverty at a time when Ukraine was experiencing the fastest growth in industry which Ukraine (or any other part of Russia) had ever experienced. The many commodities which could be seen at the weekly bazars in the small towns of Kherson province and in the trade fairs of Ielysavethrad contrasted sharply with the misery and oppression of the tens of thousands of proletarianized peasants who wandered throughout the province and in Ielysavethrad where the Vynnychenko family settled in about 1890. It is not clear why the Vynnychenko family moved to Ielysavethrad. Perhaps the parents' desire to have access to better medical facilities for their youngest son Volodymyr, who suffered from a "frightening disease" while a student[11] had some part to play.

Or, it is possible that the Vynnychenko family moved to Ielysavethrad in an attempt to find a better life than the one they had on the Bodisok estate. From Volodymyr Vynnychenko's diary notes, it appears that already by this time he had developed a rebellious spirit in response to the injustices committed around him. Once he wrote:

> From childhood, from that moment when the landlord Bodisko beat my father on the formers' estate,

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[11] Pavlo Zaitsev, "Zhmut spohadiv pro V. Vynnychenka," **Ukrainska literaturna hazeta** 7 (July 1959): 1-3.

> cheated, exploited and then evicted him and sent him to live in the mud-hut in the field where I watched over the flock, from that moment my soul appropriated the seed of hatred to social exploitation, to the Bodisoks of this world... all my life, while organizing that seed into a conscious, unlimited, brutal hostility to social, political and all other lordships, giving away my youth to imprisonment and exile for this, [I dreamed] of the time when these Bodisoks could be grabbed by the throat and all the fathers of the working people, all the cheated could be liberated...[20]

Populist revolutionary groups existed in the Ielysavethrad region as early as the 1870s, while Social Democratic groups sprung up in the 1890s.[21] Whether Vynnychenko had any ties to any of these groups is unknown. What is known is that as early as 1894 Vynnychenko was placed in the Ielysavethrad gymnasium detention cell for writing a story called "Zaporizka sich" [The Zaporozhzhian Sich].[22] From the title of this story (as well as a reading of his earliest writings) we know that at the age of fourteen Vynnychenko already had a strong national consciousness. His detailed knowledge of the Kherson region's past, where ancient Ukrainian traditions were kept alive in the memories of the numerous surviving families whose ancestors were the legendary Cossacks of the Zaporozhzhian Sich, is evidence of this. At about the same time, Vynnychenko wrote numerous satires, short stories and poems.[23]

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[20] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 353. (All translations done by myself unless otherwise noted).

[21] In 1892, O.H. Shlikhter and his wife Ie.S. Luvyshchuk established a Social Democratic group in nearby Zlatopil (now part of Novomyrhorod). Ibid., p. 30, 491. Then in the summer of 1897, in Ielysavethrad, a group called the South Russian Union of Workers (Pivdennorosiiskyi soiuz robitnykiv) was established.

[22] This story was never published and appears to be forever

In about 1897 or 1898, while in the seventh grade[24] Vynnychenko was expelled from the Ielyzavethrad gymnasium.[25] Vynnychenko began a series of journeys across Ukraine which sharpened his powers of observation and which he later revealed in his dynamic short stories and plays about the class struggles and national awakening that occured among the proletarianized peasants of Eastern Ukraine. Vynnychenko probably wrote "Khto voroh?" [Who's the

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[22](cont'd) lost. See Vasyl Chaplenko, "Pamiati V. Vynnychenka," **Vpered** 3, no. 52 (March 1955): 8.

[23]See Hryhorii Kostiuk, **Volodymyr Vynnychenko i ioho doba** (New York, 1980): 31.

[24]"Pomer Volodymyr Vynnychenko, pershyi premiier Ukr. Nar. Republyky," **Ukrainskyi holos**, (28 March 1951): 1.

[25]It appears that he was financially supported through school by his oldest brother who worked as a type setter in that city. See ibid., p. 1, and V. Vynnychenko, **Opovidannia** (Priashiv, 1968): 11. Some biographies of Vynnychenko mention that he quit school. This is possible, since a printers strike in this city at that time would have cut his brother's funds. Such a strike was mentioned in **Istoriia mist i sil: Kirovohrad oblast.**

Enemy?] during this time.[26] At about the same time (1898) a series of arrests in Ielyzavethrad, Novoukraintsi and Znamiantsi by the police resulted in the exile of eighteen members of the South Russian Union of Workers to Siberia for three years. In 1899, in Kiev, Kharkiv and in other cities across Ukraine, hundreds of students were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment or punished with fines for their revolutionary activities.[27]

2.3 Vynnychenko: The Revolutionary Writer and Conspirator

In 1900, Vynnychenko successfully completed correspondence courses and, with the help of the director of the Ielyzavethrad gymnasium,[28] passed examinations at the Zlatopilska gymnasium (in Kiev province) and received a diploma which allowed him to enter the law faculty of St. Vladimir's University in Kiev in 1901.[29]

With the founding of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (Revoliutsiina ukrainska partiia - RUP) in February of 1900 in Kharkiv, Ukrainian students throughout the Empire (and along with them, Vynnychenko) were recruited into a party which not only had an attractive socio-economic program but also a strong program for the national development of the Ukrainian language and culture. During this period, Vynnychenko was a founding member of a secret student society at Kiev University. He also wrote "Narodnyi diiach," which he submited to **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** which refused to publish it. Shortly afterwards, Vynnychenko submitted another story, "Syla i krasa" [Strength and Beauty] to V.P. Stepanenko who worked at the "Kievskaia staryna" bookstore.[30] Stepanenko rejected Vynnychenko's "Syla i krasa", and after a long silence, Vynnychenko submited the story directly to **Kievskaia staryna.**[31]

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[26] Published much later in **Nova hromada** 3 (1906).

[27] T. F-n, **Revoliutsiia rosiiska vid 1861 voku do nainoviishykh podii** (New York, 1917): 16.

[28] **Volodymyr Vynnychenko: Statti i materiialy.** B. Podoliak et al., eds. (New York, 1953).

[29] H. Kostiuk, **Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho doba** (New York, 1980): 32.

Vynnychenko's involvement with RUP and his revolutionary activities among peasants and workers were soon uncovered by the police and on 4 February 1902 he was arrested for the first time. While Vynnychenko was in prison, his "Syla i krasa" was finally accepted for publication.[32] After several months in Lukianivska prison,

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[30] V.P. Stepanenko, the "narrow chauvinist and haidamak" (Ievhen Chykalenko, **Spohady: 1861-1907** (Lviv, 1925-6): 115), was in charge of the bookstore (owned by the Kiev "Stara hromada") from 1901-1919. Many young writers were too timid to go to the editorial offices of the monthly paper **Kievskaia staryna**, and instead, gave their manuscripts to Stepanenko to submit to the paper.

[31] Here, F.P. Matushevskyi, a student of Dorpat University and S. Iefremov, while taking care of the offices of **Kievskaia staryna**, read "Syla i krasa" and became so excited with it that when Ievhen Chykalenko came in they convinced him to talk to V.P. Naumenko (the editor) to reconsider his decision not to publish the manuscript. Although Naumenko had called this short story a piece of "Gorkyism" which no decent person would read, he finally agreed to publish it. See Chykalenko's **Spohady** (Lviv, 1925-6: 117).

[32] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Syla i krasa," **Kievskaia staryna** (July-Aug 1902). This is considered his first published

Vynnychenko was released, suspended from university and forbidden to live in Kiev. He made his way to the Poltava region where he continued to work with members of RUP. During this time, he wrote another short story entitled "Sud" [The Trial]. Having lost his status as a university student, he was drafted into the army in September 1902. Fortunately, however, due to the lack of cooperation between the different tsarist bureaucratic structures of administration, Vynnychenko was assigned to the fifth sappers batallion which was quartered in Kiev. Here, Vynnychenko continued to write short stories, and submited "Bilia mashyny" [Near the Machine][33], "Narodnyi diiach" [The Peoples' Tribune][34], "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" [Harkun-Zadunaiskyi the Entreprener][35] and numerous agitational pieces to the left press. [36] At the same time he carried on his revolutionary activities in Kiev until 1 February 1903.[37] In February 1903, after being informed that

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[32](cont'd) work. H. Kostiuk, "Svit Vynnychenkovykh obraziv ta idei," **Slovo** 9 (1981): 195.

[33] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Bilia mashyny," **Kievskaia staryna** (Dec 1902).

[34] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Narodnyi diiach: Opovidannie," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 21 (Jan 1903): 129-57.

[35] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," **Kievskaia staryna** 3 (March 1903).

[36] **Volodymyr Vynnychenko: Statti i materiialy** (New York, 1953): 10.

[37] The main character in Vynnychenko's "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" is a soldier who spends his time strengthening contacts with political activists in Kiev.

he was to be arrested for his activities[38], Vynnychenko escaped to Lviv and contributed articles to socialist newspapers such as **Pratsia** and **Selianyn**[39], and organised the distribution of Ukrainian-language socialist literature to Ukraine. His short stories "Roboty" [The Robots], "Borotba" [The Struggle], and "Saldatyky" [The Soldiers], under the pseudonym of V. Dede,[40] were published in several editions in Lviv (though, for conspiratorial purposes the place of publication was given as Chernivtsi) under the auspices of RUP, and distributed throughout Ukraine. All these stories portray the class tensions and the national antagonisms present in Ukraine during what was in fact the first Ukrainian Revolution in the twentieth century -- the large-scale unrest beginning in 1902.[41] At the same time that V. Dede's stories were being widely distributed throughout Ukraine, Vynnychenko's "Syla i krasa" received attention in the authoritative journal edited by Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Hrushevsky -- **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk.**[42] Already by this time, with his short stories and agitational work, Vynnychenko had made quite a reputation as an uncompromising defender of oppressed peasants and exploited wage-workers. Vynnychenko's radical political positions in favour of using violence to achieve socio-economic and political objectives won him the attention of many Ukrainian peasants and radical intellectuals. Indicative of his stature is the fact that in the fall of 1903, O. Mytsiuk, on the advice of Mykyta Shapoval, visited Vynnychenko in Kiev to discuss the principles of Socialist Revolutionary doctrine.[43]

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[38] See B. Romanenchuk, "Vynnychenko, Volodymyr (27.7.1880-6.3.1951)," in his **Azbukovnyk: Entsyklopediia ukrainskoi literatury**. Vol. 2. (Philadelphia, 1973): 109; and H. Kostiuk, **Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho doba** (New York, 1980): 33.

[39] "Pomer Volodymyr Vynnychenko." p. 5.

[40] V. Dede. **Roboty: Opovidanie** (Chernivtsi, 1903); V. Dede, **Borotba: Opovidanie** (Chernivtsi, 1903); V. Dede, **Saldatyky: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv** (Chernivtsi, 1903).

[41] See Iv. Tsyzarev, "Preddverie agrarnoi revoliutsii 1905: Opyt kharakteristiki agrarnogo dvizheniia 1902 goda," in **Arkhiv istorii truda v Rosii** (Petrograd, 1922); and Oleksander Vyshnevskyi, **Na perelomi: Uvahy pro suchasni vidnosyny Rosii** (Lviv, 1905) for details on the revolutionary events of 1902.

During one of his trips to Ukraine (in 1903), Vynnychenko was stopped at the border with illegal literature and imprisoned in Lukianivska prison for the second time. When the tsarist officials uncovered the actual identity of the holder of the Austrian passport, Vynnychenko was imprisoned in the Kiev fortress for six months as "a deserter and dangerous revolutionary." Here he wrote "Holota" [The Wretched] which he later entered into a contest sponsored by **Kievskaia staryna** for best literature and which won first place.[44] In 1904, on the basis of a general amnesty,[45] Vynnychenko was released from prison and immediately taken into a disciplinary battalian. Shortly afterwards, he escaped to Poland and continued writing and distributing such stories as "Kontrasty" [Contrasts][46] and "Zaruchyny." [The Engagement][47]

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[42] Ivan Lychko, "Talant chy vypadkovist?" **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 21 (1903): 86-92. This was the first criticism of Vynnychenko's first published work, "Syla i krasa".

[43] Shortly afterwards, Mykyta Shapoval, Serhii Makarenko and Oleksander Shevchenko placed dynamite under the Pushkin monument in Kharkiv as a protest against the tsarist government's refusal to allow the erection of a monument to Taras Shevchenko. See Mykyta Shapoval, **Skhema zhytiepysu: Avtohrafichnyi shkits: Spohady**. Sava Zerkal, comp., (New York, 1956): 25.

On 25 December 1904, at the first RUP congress in Lviv, Vynnychenko, as a leading member, was at the center of the debate over questions concerning cooperation with the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Rosiiskaia sotsiialisticheskaia democraticheskaia robochaia partiia -- RSDRP) and long-term party strategy vis a vis work among Ukrainian peasants and workers. These questions split RUP with such people as Pavlo Krat, O. Skoropys-Ioltukhovskyi, Kanivets and M. Basok-Melenevskyi leaving RUP to form a provisional central committee of the Ukrainian Social Democratic League (Ukrainska sotsial demokratychna spilka --

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[44] Second place went to Cherniavskyi for his "Vae victis" while Kotsiubynskyi's "Pid minaretamy" took third prize. See **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 29 (1905): 257.

[45] See **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 26 (Apr-June 1904): 189. George Boshyk cites A. Zhuk who reported that Vynnychenko and D. Antonovych were released in August 1904 under an amnesty granted by the Tsar to mark the birth of a new son. A. Zhuk, "Na vidkrytti pamiatnyka I. Kotliarevskomu," **Suchasnist** 12 (1963): 94 cited in George Boshyk, **The Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties in Russia, 1900-1907**, D. Phil dissertation, (University of Oxford, 1981): 259.

[46] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Kontrasty: Opovidannia," **Kievskaia staryna** 10 (Oct? 1904).

[47] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Zaruchyny: Opovidannia," **Na vichnu pamiat Kotliarevskomu** (Kiev, 1904).

USD Spilka),[48] which subordinated itself to the RSDRP. Such leading Ukrainian Social Democratic leaders, however, as Zhuk, Iurkevych, and Vynnychenko, favoured an independent political organization and stayed with RUP until its transformation into the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party in December 1905.[49]

In January 1905 Vynnychenko was in Kiev at Ievhen Chykalenko's residence where he met Dmytro Doroshenko.[50] In all probability they had met to discuss the formation of a society to assist Ukrainian writers (Tovarystvo zapomohy ukrainskym pysmennykam) which was set up at about this time.[51] At the same time, as the only member of RUP's central committee left in Ukraine at this time, Vynnychenko made plans for publishing declarations calling on the

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[48] For a list of the delegates at the RUP congress see Panas Fedenko, **Ukrainskyi hromadskyi rukh u XX st.**, (Podiebrady, 1934): 30. On the split in RUP see M. Melenevskyi, "Z ukrainskoho zhyttia," **Nova hromada** 3-4 (Oct-Nov 1923): 130-4. For a short history of RUP, the USD Spilka, and the USDRP, see **Vidrodzhenie Ukrainy: Etapy ukrainskoho vyzvolnoho rukhu.** [s.l.: s.n., 1919?]. For an overview of the political debates, see George Boshyk, "The Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties in Russia, 1900-1907," D. Phil dissertation. 1981.

[49] See below, page 27.

[50] See D. Doroshenko, "Z moikh spohadiv pro Ie. Kh. Chykalenka," **Nashe zhyttia** 1 (36) (7 Feb 1947): 3.

[51] **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 30 (April-June 1905): 100. Later in September 1908, Ievhen Chykalenko and Mykhailo Hrushevsky managed to get support for the idea of establishing a Society to Assist Science, Literature and the Arts [Tovarystvo dlia pidmohy nautsi, literatury, i shtutsi] which eventually began to play the role of TUP's central committee. On the activities of the "Tovarystvo pidmohy" see Ievhen Chykalenko, **Shchodennyk, 1907-1917** (Lviv, 1931): 29, 108, 110, 134, 145, 237-40, 259, 293-5, 326, 373, 490-1.

Ukrainian peasantry to rise up against local administrators, not to pay taxes and to use terror against their oppressors.[52] Although the declarations did not materialize, a series of short stories which advocated much of the same, were published.[53] The events of 1902 were repeated on a much grander scale in the turbulent period of 1905 which witnessed a series of large-scale demonstrations and strikes throughout the Russian empire. Ukrainian intellectuals used the occassion to press for political change. Numerous meetings and petitions began to address the question of eliminating restrictions on the publication of material in the Ukrainian language.[54] The progress of events in January and February finally forced the Tsar (on 25 Febrary 1905) to give his sanction to the Committee of Ministers' proposal to rescind the 1863 ban on publishing works in Ukrainian.[55] The next day Vynnychenko was present at a commemorative event for Taras Shevchenko in Kiev, where he added his signature to a petition from 99 leading intellectuals defending the use of Ukrainian in schools, etc.[56] The relaxed climate at this time certainly assisted Vynnychenko in receiving permission to take the state examinations at Kiev University, which he completed successfully.[57] In April or May 1905, Vynnychenko left Kiev to go on a "romantic hike."[58]

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[52] George Boshyk, "The Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties in Russia, 1900-1907," D. Phil dissertation, 1981: 296.

[53] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Holota: Povist," **Kievskaia staryna** 1-2 (1905); "Mnimyi gospodin: Opovidannia," **Kievskaia staryna** 4 (1905); V. Dede, **Shchastie: Opovidanie** (Lviv, 1905).

[54] For example, on 26 January 1905, the Odessa city duma, on the proposal of the mayor (Zelenyi) passed a resolution demanding the elimination of such restrictions. See **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 30 (April-June 1905): 91.

[55] Ibid., p. 89-90.

[56] See "Adres ukraintsiv pro potreby ukrainskoi movy,"

Throughout 1905, Vynnychenko travelled illegally throughout the Poltava region and organized peasants and workers during the massive wave of strikes. Sometime in September 1905, Vynnychenko was arrested for the third time and imprisoned in Lukianivska prison in Kiev.[59] Vynnychenko's arrest at this time, may have been the occassion that motivated Lesia Ukrainka to begin writing her lengthy article on Vynnychenko's literary talents.[60] This article remained unpublished until 1930 when it was included in a collection of Ukrainka's works. Since that time, this article has never been mentioned in Soviet literature.[61]

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[56] (cont'd) **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 30 (April-June 1905): 65-7.

[57] Rozaliia Vynnychenko, "V.K. Vynnychenko: Biohrafichnya kanva," cited in **Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho doba.** Hryhorii Kostiuk, ed., (New York, 1980): 34.

[58] M. Porsh, "Na spilnomu shliakhu," **Symon Petliura v molodosti**. Andrii Zhuk, ed., (Lviv, 1936): 31-62 cited in George Boshyk, "The Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties in Russia, 1900-1907," D. Phil dissertation. 1981: 296.

[59] George Boshyk mentions that leading members of RUP were arrested and the USDRP's printing press and secret correspondence codes were discovered at the end of September 1905. Ibid., p. 311.

[60] Lesia Ukrainka, "Vinnichenko," in her **Tvory**. Vol. 12 (Kharkiv, 1930): 233-63.

[61] Oleh Babyshkin quotes Ukrainka from this article, but gives no sources. See his foreword to **Lesia Ukrainka pro**

The tsarist decree of 17 October 1905 which lifted the ban on the publication of Ukrainian language books[62], granted freedom to political prisoners,[63] and the subsequent release of Vynnychenko from the torture section of Lukianivska prison around 20 October 1905[64], may have contributed to Ukrainka's decision to stop work on her article.[65] It cannot be doubted that Ukrainka had

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[61](cont'd) **literaturu** (Kiev, 1955).

[62] Bedwin Sands, **The Ukraine** (London, 1914): 69.

[63] Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Lesia Ukrainka i V. Vynnychenko: Ideino-tvorchi stosunky L. Ukrainky i V. Vynnychenka v svitli suchasnoi ukrainskoi radianskoi krytyky," **Suchasnist** 7-8 (July-Aug 1971): 100.

[64] Ibid.

[65] The question of Ukrainka's relationship to Vynnychenko has not yet received a thorough analysis. Soviet writers insist that Vynnychenko's 'demoralization' after the failure of the 1905 revolution is revealed in his short stories and plays and is the reason for Lesia Ukrainka's decision to leave her article on Vynnychenko unfinished. This argument does not withstand serious criticism because of the fact that many of Vynnychenko's pre-1905 stories contain the same criticisms of revolutionaries which all his post-1905 works contain. Because of Vynnychenko's popularity among leading Ukrainian intellectuals as early as 1902, and because of the revolutionary nature of Vynnychenko's writings, Soviet historians and literary critics went to great lengths to establish a dividing line between Vynnychenko of the 1902-7 period and Vynnychenko of the Stolypin period. Notwithstanding Vynnychenko's consistency in his views towards the Russian Social Democrats throughout his lifetime, Soviet writers created an artificial dividing period at about 1907. This date coincides, not by coincidence, with the time at which Ukrainka stopped writing her article on Vynnychenko. For the ties Vynnychenko had with Lesia Ukrainka see the following articles: Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Lesia Ukrainka i V. Vynnychenko," **Suchasnist** 7-8 (July-Aug 1971): 95-111; V. Vasylenko, "Motyvy tvorchosty Lesi Ukrainky," **Krytyka** 8 (1928) and his review of 'Rufin i Pristsilla' in **Rada** 26 (1 Feb 1912); B. Iakubskyi, ["Foreword to "Orhiia"] in Lesia Ukrainka, **Tvory**. Vol. 11 (New York, 1954); A. Muzychka, **Lesia Ukrainka** (Odessa, 1925); M. Zerov, "Rufin i Pristsilla," in Lesia Ukrainka,

misgivings about Vynnychenko's preoccupation with questions of sexuality in many of his writings. She was also critical of the manner in which **Dzvin** (a publication co-edited by Vynnychenko and managed on a daily basis by Iurii Siryi) conducted its dealings with her. However, never did she publicly criticise Vynnychenko. The joint letters and common activities in socialist groups in which she participated with Vynnychenko, would indicate that a general agreement on basic principles existed between them.

In December 1905, RUP held its second congress on Lev Iurkevych's father's estate, and later in Kiev, where Vynnychenko and Porsh were instrumental in renaming RUP to the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers Party and in drawing up a party program. This congress became known as the first congress of the USDRP. It appears, that at this congress, Vynnychenko left the party because the congress delegates, led by S. Petliura, refused Vynnychenko the post of main editor of the party's central organ.[66] Soon after this congress, massive arrests of major Ukrainian intellectuals marked the beginning of the Stolypin Reaction. This was a period during which not only Ukrainian socialists but all

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[65] (cont'd) **Tvory.** Vol. 7 (New York, 1954); M. Ievshan, **Kudy my pryishly** (Lviv, 1912); K. Kvitka, "Na rokovyny smerty Lesi Ukrainky," **Spohady pro Lesi Ukrainku** (Kiev, 1963); V. Swoboda, "Lesia Ukrainka, 1871-1971," **Journal of Ukrainian Studies** 8, no. 1 (Summer 1983): 70-4; L. Ukrainka, **Tvory.** Vol. 12 (Kharkiv, 1930): 233-63; and O. Babushkin, **Lesia Ukrainka pro literaturu** (Kiev, 1971).

[66] Porsh, "Na spilnomu shliakhu," cited in George Boshyk, "The Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties in Russia, 1900-1907," D. Phil dissertation. 1981): 319.

Ukrainians who supported language or cultural rights suffered reprisals. Vynnychenko avoided arrest in Kiev by travelling to villages in the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine.[67] Vynnychenko's companion was H. Varavva. His travels took him to Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav and Kherson regions. While wandering throughout the countryside, Vynnychenko once again established contact with the USDRP in the spring of 1906 and was immediately made a member of the central committee.[68] Near the end of the summer, Vynnychenko returned to Kiev.[69] At this time, Vynnychenko's second collection of short stories,[70] as well as numerous individual short stories were published.[71] It is possible that Vynnychenko arranged to have this collection of short stories published during the summer of 1906 while in Europe.[72]

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[67] One writer, however, O. Kobets, **Nad bezodneiu** (Lviv, 1933): 183) argued that Vynnychenko, Andrii Zhuk and O. Kobets' brother sat together in the Kiev jail some time at the beginning of 1906.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Lesia Ukrainka i V. Vynnychenko," **Suchasnist** 7-8 (July-Aug 1971): 101.

[70] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, **'Krasa i syla' ta inshi opovidannia** (Kiev, 1906).

[71] **Borotba.** 1906.; V. Dede, **Temna syla** (Kharkiv, 1906); "Khto voroh?" **Nova hromada** 3 (1906); "Na prystani: Opovidannia," **Vilna Ukraina** 3 (1906); "Nich u tiurmi," **Vilna Ukraina** 3 (1906); "Dyzharmoniia: Kartyna z zhyttia revoliutsioneriv," **Vilna Ukraina** 5-6 (1906); "Rab krasy," **Vilna Ukraina** 5-6 (1906) [This issue of "Vilna Ukraina" was confiscated]; **Dyzharmoniia: Dramatychni kartyny na 4 dii.** [Signed by V. Dede in Zelenyi klyn, 4 June 1906]; "Temna syla," **Nova hromada** 10 (1906).

[72] Ievhen Chykalenko, **Shchodennyk, 1907-1914** (Lviv, 1931):

While attending the USDRP's regional conference in Poltava in September 1906, Vynnychenko was arrested[73] for the fourth time and placed in Lukianivska prison where he was soon joined by other members of his party as well as such Ukrainian and Russian political leaders as Martinov, Friedman, Diatliv and others. Here Vynnychenko carried on political work for the party and wrote, among other things, "Dym" [Smoke] which was smuggled out of prison and published in **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk.**[74] At the end of April 1907, Vynnychenko was released after Ievhen Chykalenko raised 500 rubles for his bail.[75] When Iurii Tyshchenko and Andrii Zhuk were released on bail of 1000 rubles (raised by Chykalenko's wife Oleksandra) Vynnychenko arranged to have them smuggled out of the country.[76] Shortly before he was to appear in court on 12 October 1907, Vynnychenko, together with V. Stepankivskyi, with whom he had sat in jail in the same cell (along with Serhii Iefremov) for about eight months, crossed the border out of Ukraine.[77] This trip out of Ukraine marked the end of a period of agitation and propaganda among workers and peasants for the young revolutionary writer. The next decade would be spent in careful observation of socialist leaders throughout Europe and in the Russian Empire. The rise of the Stolypin Reaction and the failure of the 1905 revolution brought about a period of careful self-examination and re-assessment of past events (concerning the fortunes of the Ukrainian Social Democratic movement) for Vynnychenko.

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[73] George Boshyk, "The Rise of Ukrainian Political Parties in Russia," D. Phil. dissertation, (University of Oxford, 1981): 357.

[74] A. Zhuk, "Na Lukianivtsi," **Kanadiiskyi Ukrainets** (30 July 1924). For an account of life in Lukianivtsi prison see A. Zhuk's nine articles entitled "Na Lukianivtsi" which were printed in the June and July issues of **Kanadiiskyi Ukrainets** (nos. 23-31).

[75] See Ievhen Chykalenko, **Shchodennyk, 1907-1914** (Lviv, 1931). Zhuk mistakenly says most people (along with Vynnychenko) were released in February 1908. It was in February-April 1907 that many of the Ukrainian political leaders were released. See A. Zhuk, "Na Lukianivtsi," **Kanadiiskyi Ukrainets** (30 July 1924).

[76] Hryhorii Kostiuk, **Vynnychenko ta ioho doba** (New York, 1980): 36.

2.4 Drama as a Weapon Against the Status Quo

1907 marked a turning point in the fortunes of all parties in Russia. The USDRP experienced a serious loss of support among peasants, workers as well as intellectuals. The reaction that set in at this time intimidated vast layers of the population and only a handfull of dedicated revolutionaries - among them Vynnychenko - continued to carry on the work of the party. The general sentiments of the time are poignantly revealed by a talented journalist of the time:

> As if a dream, the years of struggle for freedom have passed away and taken everything with it: hope and everything that one's soul had become so accustomed to within the short period of the

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[77] B. Romanenchuk, "Vynnychenko, Volodymyr," In his **Azbukovnyk**. Vol. 2. (Philadelphia, 1973): 109; and Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Lesia Ukrainka i V. Vynnychenko," **Suchasnist** 7-8 (July-Aug 1971): 101.

> liberation movement. Only the rural Ukrainian peasant-intellectuals remained in the villages, with no hope for an improvement in their fate. 'And how is one to live in this world without hope?' painfully inquired T. Shevchenko of himself. Really, it is frightening to feel the will to live in one's self and yet not be able to live; it is frightening to lie down into a coffin alive.

These sentiments of defeat characterized the mood of wide layers of the population, peasants, workers and especially the intelligentsia. The Ukrainian intelligentsia in the post-1907 period anguished as it saw the gains of the 1905 revolution whittled away and Ukrainian culture once again restricted by tsarist authorities.

Affected by this mood were also the so-called "dity sontsia" (children of the sun) -- the young revolutionary generation which came on the scene at the turn of the 20th century and who represented Ukraine's first sizeable intelligentsia. Vynnychenko, a member of this generation, was affected by the defeatism of this period. However he advanced a unique and seemingly modern explanation for the failures of the 1905 revolution, namely, he focussed on the problems of inter-personal relationships amongst the revolutionaries themselves. For the next few years Vynnychenko wrote about the nature of the relations between revolutionaries, the contradictions between their theory and practice. He criticised their patronizing attitudes towards the masses, the Ukrainian peasantry in particular. He upbraided Russian and Ukrainian Social Democrats for failing to break with conservative, authoritarian morality and he also discussed questions such as the oppressive role of institutions such as the family and marriage. In modern parlance, he elevated the personal to a political plane.

With the publication of Vynnychenko's third collection of short stories in 1907, Ivan Franko wrote an article about Vynnychenko which began with the memorable words, spoken by one of Kropovnytskyi's characters -- "I vidkilia ty takyi uziav sia?" [And whence comes one such as thou?][78] This was the second time that the famous Ukrainian writer paid tribute to the young revolutionary writer. It came at a propitious moment for Vynnychenko. When he began publishing a series of plays characterizing the Ukrainian and Russian intelligentsia, Franko's was a solitary voice in support of Vynnychenko's creative direction. Vynnychenko used the most effective and popular media of his age -- the live stage -- to advance his ideas. Among the numerous plays and stories that he wrote in this period, the greatest impact was felt by his "Shchabli zhyttia" [The Steps of Life]. This play summarized all of Vynnychenko's major criticisms of Russian Social Democrats. For the next ten years, most of Vynnychenko's writings would reiterate the basic theses of this play.[79]

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[78] Ivan Franko, "Novyny nashoi literatury," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 38, no. 6 (Apr-June 1907): 506-12.

For the next seven years (1907-14), Vynnychenko lived in Lviv, Vienna, Geneva,[80] Paris,[81] Florence and Berlin, where he stayed in touch with the most prominent Ukrainian and Russian exiled intellectuals of the day. In 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1912 Vynnychenko travelled illegally to Ukraine and Russia on USDRP business.[82] During his visits to Ukraine, Vynnychenko met such people as Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi, Volodymyr Antonovych, Ivan Ianevskyi, M.K. Sadovskyi, and many other Ukrainian, as well as Russian intellectuals.[83]

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[79] In fact, his celebrated novel "Chesnist z soboiu" [Honesty With Oneself] contained many of the same characters and events as found in "Shchabli zhyttia." The former work was written in Ukrainian but because it was refused for publication in **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk**, Vynnychenko had it published in Russian in **Zemlia** in January 1911. See Ie. Chykalenko, **Shchodennyk, 1907-1914** (Lviv, 1931): 190, 294.

[80] See O.M. Kovalenko packet, Ievhen Batchinsky Collection, Carleton University Library.

[81] On 14 February 1909, Vynnychenko was present at the founding meeting of the Paris student Hromada (Paryzkyi kruzhok). See **Ukraina** 6 (1951): 413. The Paris "Kruzhok" (in French -- "Cercle des Oukrainiens a Paris") was organized by Iaroslav Fedorchuk between October 1908 - 4 February 1909. See Ievhen Bachynskyi, "Iaroslav Fedorchuk: Zasluzhenyi ukrainskyi publitsyst, 1878-1916," **Ukraina: Ukrainoznavstvo i frantsuzke kulturne zhyttia** 6 (1951): 417.
It was probably in Paris that Vynnychenko met his future wife, Rozalia Lifshyts, a graduate of the Sorbornne's medical faculty, who became a member of the Paris Hromada. See Hryhorii Kostiuk, **Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho doba** (New York, 1980): 36. Kostiuk found Vynnychenko's and Lifshyts' names in the protocols of the Hromada's meeting held near the end of 1909.

[82] Ibid.

[83] See Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Deiaki problemy naukovoho vyvchennia V. Vynnychenka," **Suchasnist** 11 (Nov 1971): 83; Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi, **Tvory v trokh tomakh**, vol. 3 (Kiev, 1956): 328, 487; Dmytro Chub, **Liudy velykoho sertsia**

Vynnychenko's repeated travels to Ukraine, and the circulation of his short stories and plays kept the public's attention on him.[44] Vynnychenko's intimate involvement in the USDRP, in the political and literary arenas, with writers and activists sympathetic to the RSDRP (eg. Gorki,[45] Basok-Melenevskyi, Kotsiubynskyi, and others) and

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[43](cont'd) (Melbourne, 1981): 156; V. Levynskyi, "Pershyi mai i ukrainski robitnyky," **Robochyi narod** 22 (5 June 1912): 3; D. Iaremchuk, "Ivan Dudka -- aktor z Bozhoi lasky: 1899-1940," **Kalendar-almanakh 'Novoho shliaku'** (Winnipeg, 1971): 120; and Ievhen Chykalenko, **Shchodennyk, 1907-1917** (Lviv, 1931): 120, 137-8, 160.

[44] On 21 November 1910, Omelchenko read a paper on Vynnychenko's works to the Ukrainian Hromada group of the Bestuzhevski Courses (women's college) at Petersburg University. (See M. Hekhter, "Ukrainske zhyttia v Rosii v 1910 r.," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 53, no. 1 (Jan 1911): 133, 136). Undoubtedly the paper discussed Vynnychenko's most recent play "Spivochi tovarystva" in which Vynnychenko characterized such people as V.M. Leontovych, O.V. Iurkevych, S.O. Iefremov, O.P. Kosach and V.P. Stepanenko. (Chykalenko, **Shchodennyk, 1907-1917** (Lviv, 1931): 160-1). Omelchenko's earlier lectures on Vynnychenko's works were published in 1909. See his **V poiskakh sotsialisticheskoi morali: Leksii o p'esakh V. Vinnichenko "Dizgarmoniia," "Velykyi molokh,"** i **"Shchabli zhyttia"** (St. Petersburg, 1909).

[45] On Gorky and Vynnychenko see: V. Vynnychenko, "Bula, ie i bude," **Ukrainski visti** 30 (Detroit, 23 July 1980): 2-4,6; 31 (30 July 1980): 2-3, 6; D. Burko, "Oleksa Slisarenko." **Meta** 86 (Munich, May 1973): 6. [Concerning Slisarenko's response to Gorky's letter to Knyhospilka in 1927 forbidding them to publish his "Maty" in Ukrainian.]; Maksim Gorky, **Nesvoievremennia misli.** 1920; Maksim Gorky, **Polnoe sobranie sochineniii: Khudozhestvennye proizvedeniia.** Moscow: Nauka, 1968-1976; Maksim Gorky, (M. Horkyi) **Pro movu, pro boikist: Rozmova z molodymy.** [Kharkiv]: Radianska Literatura, [1934.]; Maksim Gorky, "Pro rossisku intelihentsiiu i natsionalni pytannia." **Ukrainskyi kalendar 1968.** Warsaw: USKT, 1968: 198-9. [First published in 1912.]; Maksim Gorky, **Sobranie sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh.** Vol. 29. Moscow, 1955: 177-80. [Material concerning Vynnychenko as "sadist", etc.]; Olksander Kobets, **Nad bezodneiu.** 3 vols. Lviv: Rodyna, 1933. [In vol. 3 ("Peklo") Kobets mentions Vynnychenko's "Lyst do ruskykh pysmennykiv" and Pypkin's reply, the attack by the 7 Tomsk students, Gorky, and that

the Russian SRs, gave Vynnychenko countless opportunities to witness the personal inconsistency and dishonesty which coloured some of the writings and activities of these people.[86] His own party (the USDRP) experienced a split due to the political machinations of Bolshevik leaders as early as 1905.[87] The inability of Ukrainians to trust Russians of all political persuasions because of the latters' lingering imperial intentions towards Ukraine was evident to Vynnychenko by 1905. He hinted at this theme in many of his

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[85](cont'd) Vynnychenko, Zhuk and Kobets' brother sat in Lukianivka prison at the beginning of 1906.]; Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi, **Tvory v trokh tomakh**. Vol. 3. Kiev: Derzh. vyd-vo Khud. Lit., 1956. [Concerning his meeting with Vynnychenko and the latter's argument with Gorky.]; M. Matviichuk, "Maksym Gorkyi i Ukraina." **Ukrainskyi kalendar 1966**. Warsaw: USKT, 1966: 196-7; Mykola Skrypnyk, "Ukrainskyi tyzhden u Moskvi." In his **Statti i promovy z natsionalnoho pytannia**. Munich, 1974: 131-3. [On the Gorky-Vynnychenko argument]; Volodymyr Vynnychenko "Bazar: Piesa na 4 rozdily." **LNV** 49, no. 2 (Feb 1910): 241-93. [Written before his "Shchabli zhyttia". Sent to Gorki to be reviewed.] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Odvertyi lyst do M. Gorkogo." **Ukrainski visti** 12 (Paris, 19 July 1928). Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychena do M. Gorkoho." **Dilo** 170 (2 Aug 1928): 2-3. Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychena do M. Gorkoho." **Novyi chas** 94-96 (Lviv, 6-10 Aug 1928). Volodymyr Vynnychenko, ["Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho."] "Ukraina i predstavnyk moskovskoi literatury." In **Narodna volia** 47-50, 2-6 (Scranton, 7 Dec 1961-8 Feb 1962): pp. 5,6. Volodymyr Vynnychenko, ["Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho."] "Vynnychenko proty Gorkoho." In **Ukrainski visti** 29 (Detroit, 16 July 1980). Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Vidkrytyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Horkoho." **Ukrainski visti** (Neu Ulm, 1948).

[86] See Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv," **Nash holos** (Lviv), 9-10, (1911): 451-79; 11-12, (1911): 529-64.

[87] See especially Panas Fedenko, **Ukrainskyi hromadskyi rukh u XX st.** (Podiebrady, Czechoslovakia, 1934): 30-5, 41, 60-1. See also Matvii Iavorskyi, **Revoliutsiia na Vkraini v ii holovnishykh etapakh** (Kharkiv, 1923); and Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Istoriia kliasovoi borotby: Styslyi kurs** (Kiev? 1927).

short stories and plays.[illegible]

For Vynnychenko, trust between nations had to begin with trust between individuals. His relations with writers and revolutionaries, his consipiratorial activities in Ukraine, and his experiences of being imprisoned, all combined to form a personality which placed the highest value on interpersonal trust and respect. Vynnychenko carried on a life-long attack against revolutionaries who were inconsistent and insincere, because for Vynnychenko, that was the source of the greatest danger to any revolution. Vynnychenko no longer felt a need to spend his talents on describing the whole gamut of political and socio-economic antagonisms between the rich and poor, between the peasant-workers and the factory and land owners. Instead, he turned to the relations between revolutionaries and their fellow travellers, between men and women, between leaders and their rank and file.[illegible] The conclusions Volodymyr Vynnychenko reached were not optimistic. He questioned revolutionary morality as practiced by most socialists and challenged them to bring their actions more into line with their ideas.

The idea of "honesty with oneself" came to me...

[illegible] For example, see his "Moie ostannie slovo" (later renamed "Dribnytsia"); "Dizharmoniia" (1905); "Chestnost s soboi"; and "Shchabli zhyttia."

[illegible] In the words of Richytskyi, he turned to "psychological etudes" in describing the class struggle. And. Richytskyi, "Apolohiia natsionalizmu: Z pryvodu knyhy 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," in his **Volodymyr Vynnychenko v literaturi i politytsi** (Kharkiv, 1928): 61.

along time ago. Already at that time [in 1903?], when everyone who called himself a revolutionary, appeared to me as a hero, when my spirit was uplifted by the examples of Radishchev and Perovska - already at that time I began to notice a certain disharmony between the surrounding reality around me and the images created by a youthful fantasy. I examined this life and pondered the teachings of socialism, but the more I did this, the more noticable became the disharmony. First of all I noticed this disharmony in myself... I **sincerely** and intensely protested against social injustice, and in the name of this protest I went to jail, and was even ready to go to my death... At that time I had already written a few stories, in which I expressed my protest against social injustice... But I knew that my stories, my participation in parties, my jail [terms], the proclamations inspired by me -- all this was insincere; that all this was inside of me, I did not lie about this to myself, nor to others, but... all of this was not what mattered. In my daily life I did not live in harmony with this... I visited prostitutes, liked to drink once in awhile, was forced, for the sake of conspiracy to lie to my comrades, to be dishonest with my closest friends, and to do the most unjust and brutal acts. All this did not correspond to the standards of a

> socialist, as a person of a higher morality, a hero and saint... I finally saw that most of my comrades were also not holy, that their daily and even their party lives did not correspond to the high standards of revolutionaries of earlier times. To a larger or smaller degree, they did everything that I did...[10]

In his publicistic, as well as in his literary works,[11] Vynnychenko portrayed Ukrainian and Russian revolutionaries with all their character weaknesses, conservative morality and the psychological tensions which were engendered by the contradictions between their thoughts and actions.

Contemporary Soviet criticism has labelled Vynnychenko's critique as an "individualistic vision" characterized by "aestheticism, eroticism, mysticism."[12] Here they repeat the criticisms levelled at Vynnychenko by conservative and other circles beginning in 1909.[13]

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[10] See Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv," **Nash holos** (Lviv), 9-10, (1911): 451-79; 11-12, (1911): 529-64.

[11] "Moie ostannie slovo"; "Dizharmoniia" (1905); "Chestnost s soboi"; and "Shchabli zhyttia."

[12] **Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva v shesty tomakh: Mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XIX-XX st.** Tom 4, knyha druha, (Kiev 1970): 13.

[13] See Fediushka. "V. Vynnychenko: 'Na vesakh zhizni: roman', sbornik 'Zemlia' t. 9, Moskva, stor. 27-292," **Ukrainska khata** 9-10 (Sept-Oct 1912): 550-3; M.S., "V. Vinnichenko. 'Na vesakh zhizni': Roman. Moskovsk. K-vo 'Zemlia', sborn. IX. Moskva. 1912 g.," **Ukrainska khata** (May 1912): 303-4; L. Ianovska, **Noli me tangere: Drama na 5 dii** (Kiev, 1910); S. Iefremov, **Hnuchka chesnist: Z suchasnoho pysmenstva: Pro piesu V. Vynnychenka 'Shchabli zhyttia' i 'Memento'** (Kiev,

Vynnychenko defended himself against these types of charges.[14] In his view, the development of a personal morality for each individual based on the concept of "honesty with oneself" was crucial in destroying the repressive old morality which has always been the morality of the ruling classes.[15]

> Let the workers think about this. It is mainly their daughters and sisters who fill the houses of ill-repute. Let them remember that they too, just as prostitutes, sell themselves, and with such sale of their labour also lose their ability to produce, just as their sisters [lose] the ability to reproduce! One should come to terms not with morality, but with oneself and one's experiences. All morality is established by the rulers; workers do not take part in ruling and therefore have no need for contemporary morality... be honest only

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[13] (cont'd) 1909); H. Khotkevych, "Literaturni vrazhinia," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 4 (1908): 129-38; L. Leontovych, "Zbirnyk 'Dzvin'," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 41, no. 3 (March 1908): 606-18; T. Michalski, **Mloda Ukraina: Mysli i wrazenia** (Kiev, 1909); A.P. Omelchenko, **V poiskakh sotsialisticheskoi morali: Leksii o p'esakh V. Vinnichenko "Dizgarmoniia," "Velykyi molokh," i "Shchabli zhyttia"** (St. Petersburg, 1909); S. Petliura, "Dodatok do retsenzii na piesu V. Vynnychenka 'Shchabli zhyttia'," **Slovo** 21 (Kiev, 1908); S. Petliura, "'Dzvin' - zbirnyk. Vporiadchyk-vydavets V. Vynnychenko," **Slovo** 2 (Kiev, 1908).

[14] For example, see his "Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam" and his "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv," **Nash holos** 9-10, (1911): 451-79; 11-12, (1911): 529-64.

[15] Ibid., p. 471.

with thyself!"[16]

Vynnychenko believed that by being honest with oneself, a person could develop a consciousness which was revolutionary and which would lead people to harmonize their thoughts with their feelings, and all these with their actions. Honesty with oneself, to Vynnychenko, entailed the complete rejection of contemporary morality. In its place, a person was to be "guided by the principle of the concentration of one's strengths and of their rational, balanced application."[17] In such a way, a new, higher morality can be created where thought and action are combined in one harmonious whole and where alienation would no longer stiffle one's creativity. The way this is done is by consistently and decisively bringing one's thoughts all the way to the point of being felt, experienced. As Vynnychenko says in one passage critical of his critics:

> But I'm convinced that Mr. Lvov and others, are also sincere and honest, thinking critics -- yet they are not **honest with themselves**, that is, they have not internalized their thoughts... although they have **theoretically** discarded the petrified norms, unbeknown to themselves in **real life** they continue to recognize [the norms], they co-exist with them, they perceive this divergence -- "naturally, the intelligentsia and workers suffer from internal

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[16] Ibid., p. 558.

[17] Ibib., p. 562.

> contradictions," says Mr. Lvov, -- "but these contradictions, this divergence exist in relation to social contradictions, and it is against them that the struggle should be directed." Oh, how fervently Mr. Lvov argues his case, and yet, how blind he is not to see that he contradicts himself...[18]

Yes, continues Vynnychenko, Mr. Lvov is correct in saying that we must fight against the causes of the social contradictions. But, how do we carry on this struggle; what moral principles, if any, are the intellectuals, the workers, and party members to follow in their daily relations with each other? The answer? "Honesty with oneself." To the intellectuals, this necessarily meant the recognition of the fact that "their own morality and customs were taken over from the heritage of their ancestors -- the oppressors, while their intellect has been adapted to the needs of the oppressed."[19] Thus, there is a complete alienation of thought from emotion. This is the cause of mistakes, evils and negative aspects in the relationships among revolutionaries, intellectuals, and workers. This notion is important to note because it will resurface in Vynnychenko's critique of the Bolsheviks after they had assumed power in 1917.

Vynnychenko was totally committed to his writing. He was one of the first Ukrainians in the 20th century to live wholly off the royalties of his writings.[100] As a full-time artistic worker he attempted to achieve social change by bringing about a change in people's consciousness, by getting people to re-examine their conceptions of themselves, of the world around them, and to realise the important role of the subconscious in determining their actions in their relations with the oppressed, underpriviledged masses, and with fellow revolutionaries. In this task Vynnychenko had the support of enlightened, dedicated and wealthy friends such as Ievhen Chykalenko. But Vynnychenko also had opponents. He confronted centuries old prejudice. In particular, the biased view that the Russian intelligentsia had of various nations such as Jews, Armenians, Tatars, Ukrainians and others, as well as prejudice against social classes such as peasants, workers and the lumpenproletariat. It was these dispossesed groups that Volodymyr Vynnychenko's early writings dealt with. Vynnychenko was particularly harsh of the Russian intellectuals' insulting portrayal of Ukrainians. Vynnychenko wrote:

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[18] Ibib., p. 477-8. Emphasis in the original.

[19] Ibid., p. 544.

> Everywhere and always [in the stories of most Russian writers] the 'khokhol' is somewhat stupid, somewhat cunning, inevitably lazy, melancholic, and at times good hearted. Of other psychological characteristics in the 'khokhol' of those stories,

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[100] Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, "Suspilno-politychnyi svitohliad Volodymyra Vynnychenka u svitli ioho publitsystychnykh pysan," **Suchasnist** 9, no. 237 (Septmeber 1980): 60.

> one will not hear. Over thirty million of them, but such a surprisingly immobile and one-sided development. No matter the figure, it is either a homely idiot, a doltish idler, or a lazy trickster. And rarely, it is a short-witted, sentimental and harmless simpleton, of the 'khokhol' [type] in M. Gorky's [stories].[101]

The opposition which Vynnychenko met from his critics and from different publishers across the country reached such a threatening plateau, that he was forced to turn to the large Russian-speaking market to have his works published.[102] Mykhailo Hrushevsky found it necessary to come to his defence before the Ukrainian public and sounded the alarm that Ukrainians were losing one of their best writers because of their hostility.[103] But he also called on Vynnychenko to make sacrifices too:

> We do not lose hope that the strong bonds to his nation with which the honourable writer has made his mark in his activity, will overcome those gains which are to be achieved by working in the Russian field and that he will remain a Ukrainian writer

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[101] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 10 (1913): 30-1.

[102] That Vynnychenko could not continue to live off the royalties from his Ukrainian-language works was pointed out by him in his **Shchodennyk: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 251.

[103] Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, "Na Ukrainski temy," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 53, no. 2 (February 1910): 392-403.

> notwithstanding the fact that here he will receive mere kopecks instead of rubles and many lessons in morality from leading spokespersons of our press [such as **Dilo**] on both sides of the border. This fact, nevertheless, remains extraordinarily characteristic of our narrow cultural life and of its difficult atmosphere which is supported by the factory of social opinion. A writer, on whom rested the hopes of our community, whose works called forth interest as no one else's, who was acknowledged by everyone -- regardless whether they agreed or not with his theoretical views -- as having a great talent, an unequaled force of expression and a daring imagination, is *wandering away from our literary life.* [He is] wandering because his involvment has elicited a boycott of a journal [**Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk**] to which he has continuously contributed, and aside from this journal, in that tight corner of our cultural life, he cannot find himself an arena nor an auditorium.[104]

Although Chykalenko warned Vynnychenko about publishing his works in Russian[105], a criticism which was echoed by

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[104] Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, "Na ukrainski temy," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 53, no. 2 (Feb 1911): 401-2. Emphasis added.

[105] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: 1911-1920**. Vol. 1. (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 249-50.

Ukraine's leading populist[106], nevertheless, Vynnychenko defended himself by explaining that he did this out of financial necessity, as well as because the few Ukrainian journals that existed, frequently refused to publish his works. Further, he explained that he wrote all his works in Ukrainian and gave Russian publishing firms only Russian *translations* of his works.[107] Vynnychenko's efforts to publish his works in Russian, at a time when tsarist censors were ruthless in forbidding the printing of works by Franko,[108] Kotsiubynskyi, Hrushevskyi, and many others, became a point of contention among the numerous Ukrainian students at universities across Russia. Ukrainian students attacked Vynnychenko for being "a slave of pan-Russian culture," for publishing his works in Russian which, they argued, was an attempt by Vynnychenko to ingratiate himself to the Russian masters.[109] These criticisms and the questioning of Vynnychenko's commitment to Ukrainian literature and to the cause of Ukrainian national liberation forced Vynnychenko to periodically reaffirm his allegiance by publicly attacking Russian intellectuals for their treatment of Ukrainians in their works and for refusing to actively support the Ukrainian national cause.

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[106] Sriblianskyi, "V. Vinnichenko: 'O morali gospodstvuiushchikh i morali ugnetennikh: Otkrytoe pismo moim chitateliam i kritikam: Perevod s ukrainskogo' Lviv, 1911," **Ukrainska khata** 3-4 (1912): 240. For Vynnychenko's reply to this article see V. Vynnychenko, "Lyst do redaktsii," **Rada** 144-145 (27, 28 June 1914): 2,3; 2,3.

[107] V. Vynnychenko, "Lyst Vynnychenka do Chykalenka." (23 July 1912) In Ievhen Chykalenko, **Shchodennyk, 1907-1917** (Lviv, 1931): 318. See also V. Vynnychenko, "Lyst do redaktsii," **Rada** 17 (4 Feb 1911): 4; and V. Vynnychenko, "Lyst do redaktsii," **Rada** 97 (12 May 1914): 4.

[108] See the notes by members of the Censorship Committee in Kiev (N. Dublianskyi and S. Shchegolev) in **Ivan Franko: Dokumenty i materialy, 1856-1965** (Kiev, 1966).

[109] Specifically, students in the medical faculty of Tomsk University published an open letter praising Patrashkin for criticising Vynnychenko's open letter to Russian intellectuals. Using the occassion of the publication of

As a writer, dramatist and concerned progressive Ukrainian thinker, Vynnychenko's whole literary career had its origins in his attempts to re-define Ukrainian identity -not only to Ukrainian readers, but also to Russian-language readers, especially to those who had the greatest impact on the production of images of Ukrainians -- the Russian intelligentsia. The world received its views of Ukrainians from the writings of numerous Russian intellectuals -- writings which enjoyed a large readership not only in Russia but throughout Europe and North America. Russian writers almost always portrayed Ukrainians in the same light that white, middle-class North American writers portrayed blacks, Ukrainians, and Native Indians -- lazy, dirty, ignorant, at

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[109] (cont'd) Vynnychenko's "Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam," Ukrainian students from the medical faculty of Tomsk University published a slanderous letter condemning Vynnychenko -- the "slave with a caddish psychology... -- for begging the [Russian] lord for some attention..." The students were Ia. Karabai, S. Bazylevych, Vasylkivskyi, F. Levynskyi, K. Bezhun, M. Chumak, and Nechai. See Ia. Karabai, S. Bazylevych, Vasylkivskyi, et al., "Vidkrytyi lyst do V. Vynnychenka." **Ukrainska khata** 11 (1913). See also A. Nikovskyi, "Ukrainska literatura v 1913 rotsi," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** 65, no. 1 (Jan 1914): 151-63; and O. Kovalevskyi, "Vynnychenko chy Petliura?" **Ukrainskyi holos**. On Vynnychenko's reaction see his **Shchodennyk: 1911-1920**. Vol. 1 (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 147, 230-1.

times cunning, but in any case quite a hopeless lot.[110] It was Volodymyr Vynnychenko's ceaseless efforts to expose and ridicule the racial prejudices among the intellectuals of Russia that led him into the center of the political stage in Ukraine. Vynnychenko saw this prejudice as an integral part of the ideological basis of tsarist rule. By tackling these misconceptions, Vynnychenko attempted to erode the basis of that rule. Volodymyr Vynnychenko's role as one of the major forces in reshaping the moral foundations of his society was tremendous not only in the Russia of the tsars, but equally as important in the Russia of the commissars.

The specific historical evolution of the Russian Empire -- with an overwhelming majority of illiterate,[111] oppressed, poverty-stricken mass of proletarianized peasants -- added another dimension to Vynnychenko's subject matter. Vynnychenko was first and foremost concerned with the social and economic crisis in which his people found themselves. His portrayal of Ukrainians (of all socio-economic backgrounds) in his early writings revealed his exceptional observational talents and contributed to the awakening of a class consciousness among his readers. But Vynnychenko was not satisfied with simply portraying the ugly and brutal reality of peasant and worker existence. He was also part of a political movement to change that reality. Volodymyr Vynnychenko hit upon a wall of indifference, bigotry, prejudice and chauvinism which sorrounded many members of the Russian intelligentsia.[112] Vynnychenko believed that the political system of tsarist Russia, in fact, created the social and economic conditions which encouraged Russian chauvinism. Yet, his subsequent political evolution during the Russian and Ukrainian revolutions of 1917-1919, and during the Civil War impressed upon him the notion that any socio-economic order and political system, without the presence of a personal morality for all of a society's members, would continually resurrect attitudes of chauvinism, greed, hypocricy and opportunism.

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[110] On the portrayal of Ukrainians in the writings of English Canadians, see Francis Swyripa, **Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works** (Edmonton, 1978); Peter Krawchuk, "The Ukrainian Image in Canadian Literature," in **Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century** (Toronto, [1966?]; and Natalia Aponiuk, "Some Images of Ukrainian Women in Canadian Literature," **Journal of Ukrainian Studies** 14 (Summer 1983): 39-50.

[111] 13.5% of the population in Ukraine was literate in 1897.

2.5 Vynnychenko: The Political Leader

Many commentators have pointed to Vynnychenko's **Vidrodzhennia natsii** as his first political tract.[113] In fact, Vynnychenko had already worked out a Ukrainian national political program at least as early as 1915. In criticising the activities of the Vienna based Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Spilka vyzvolennia Ukrainy -- SVU), a group funded by the Austrian government, Vynnychenko called for an honest appraisal of the political situation. He wrote:

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[112] But Vynnychenko's criticism of the Russian intellectuals for their Great Power chauvinism was mild compared to his criticism of the tsarist regime. While secretly living in Moscow during WWI (March 1915), he wrote in his diary: "I don't want to hide behind my secret thoughts. I want to yell out with all my being to those who are the greatest criminals of this universal inhuman evil: a pox on you thick-headed monsters who, for the sake of your paunch, destroy the lives of millions of people... Will there ever be a trial over... those... who poison the air and atmosphere..." (V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 176.

[113] See, I. Kulyk, "Ekonomychni chynnyky frantsuzkoi interventsii," **Chervonyi shliakh** 3 (1923): 122-8; Andrii Richytskyi, "Apolohiia natsionalizmu: Z pryvodu knyhy

> We should, first of all, honestly, openly and freely admit, that at the present time we are not in any position to influence, even to the slightest degree, the actual political destiny of our people, and that releasing 'manifestos' in its name, as done by people from the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine is either childish naievety, or an act of extreme excitement.[114]

His long experience in organizing demonstrations and other mass actions provided Vynnychenko with valuable lessons in seeing the importance of mass self-activity, and of relying

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[113] (cont'd) 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," in his **Volodymyr Vynnychenko v literaturi i politytsi** (1928): 54-67; Stepan Ripetskyi, **Ukrainske Sichove Striletstvo: Vyzvolna ideia i zbroinyi chyn** (New York, 1956); "Savietska Ukraina' v svitli pravdy," **Svoboda** 72 (15 Jan 1920); P. Chyzhevskyi, "'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," **Volia** 2, no. 2 (17 April 1920): 73-5; Petro Diatliv, "Zaiava ukrainskoi brygady v Chekhii," **Nova doba** 13 (29 May 1920): 3; L. H., "Vyznanie Ukrainy," **Vpered** (Lviv, 16 March 1920); and Pavlo Khrystiuk, "Provyna pered ukrainskoiu revoliutsiieiu: V. Vynnychenko. 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," **Boritesia-Poborete!** 5 (Dec 1920): 36-66.

[114] V. Vinnichenko, "V chem nasha syla?" **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 7 (1915).

on one's own forces.'[115] In his view,

> We'll always be playthings in foreign hands if we do not have support in our own forces. For this reason the only correct orientation for us, I repeat, is a Ukrainian one. Not a neutral [orientation], no, not a politics of passive waiting and helplessness, but a Ukrainian orientation, an active, productive, constructive and organizational orientation. And, neither should we partake in the game of politics and diplomacy. Declarations and manifestos are not needed by the Ukrainian people -- that is unbefitting of an honest and sincere love for the people; it is an insult to them and to oneself. We must do that which, above all else, will insure for us, for all times and under all circumstances, our political and national destiny: march together with our democracy. Our strength is in the development and organization of Ukrainian Democracy, in its self-awarness and realization of its tasks.'[116]

Like others, Vynnychenko thought that the intelligentsia had a crucial role to play in the unfolding Ukrainian national movement. However, he argued that the intelligentsia must have a dialectical relationship to the masses.

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[115] See V. Vynnychenko, "Lupaite tsiu skalu!" **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 11-12 (1915): 7-16; and his "V chem nasha syla?" **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 7 (1915): 13-18.

[116] Ibid., p. 16.

> Just as it is impossible to put a stop to the process of education among those who are of the land and again return to it, so it is impossible to put a stop to the process of education which is occuring among the nationaly conscious layers of society. We come out of the raw earth, from the depth of our nation, and again return to it, only to go out from it once more. In that, is our strength.[117]

Through this process, the intelligentsia comes to know itself. And vice-versa, "the Ukrainian nation, in the face of its intelligentsia, came to know itself."[118] It is only in this kind of relationship, believed Vynnychenko, that all prejudice, fears and distrust could be eliminated. Only by participating actively, on a daily basis, in the struggles of the masses, could the intelligentsia come to know itself. And, at the moment of its coming to know itself, at the moment of self-consciousness, a more harmonious existence is possible.

Vynnychenko's influence on the Ukrainian and Russian intelligentsia was reflected in the debates carried on in the various journals of this period. The campaign against Vynnychenko's writings became more ruthless. In the first half of 1911, M. Olminskii and others published scathing attacks against Vynnychenko's moral philosophy.[119] Ukrainian intellectuals such as Ievshan, Sriblianskyi, Steshenko and Russian intellectuals such as Lenin, Gorky, Lunacharsky, Kollontai and many others read and hotly debated Vynnychenko's works. The overwhelming majority opinion (which included Lenin's), condemned what they called Vynnychenko's amorality and charged him with crimes ranging from a perverted obsession with sexual matters to a treasonous attitude to socialists and the revolution.[120]

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[117] Ibib., p. 18.

[118] Ibid.

[119] M.S. Olminskii, "'Belletrist': V. Vinnichenko," **Zvezda** 25 (1911). See also I. K. "Khamstvo chy provokatsiia?!"

Why did Vynnychenko elicit such a response from socialist compatriots and what influence did this have on his political philosophy? The foremost Ukrainian American literary critic and biographer of Vynnychenko, Hryhorii Kostiuk, gives us an answer to the first of these questions:

> At the core of all these critical attacks there lay a shallow acquaintance with Vynnychenko's works; not an objective analysis of them, but only a polemical aim to discredit a party, an ideological and a national opponent who thought differently. Lenin, as a centralist, could not reconcile himself to the fact that the Ukrainian national-liberation movement had all the attributes of a modern political movement, that Ukrainian Social Democracy, of which

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[119](cont'd) **Ukrainska khata** (May-June 1911): 363.

[120]See V.I. Lenin, "Inesse Armand," **Sochineniia**. Vol. 35. 4th ed. (Moscow, 1950): 107; V.I. Lenin, "Inesse Armand," **Poln. Sobr. Soch.** Vol. 48. 5th ed. (Moscow): 294-5; Aleksandra Kollontai, **The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman**, edited by Irving Fetscher, (London, 1972) [who wrote favourably about Vynnychenko]; and Maksim Gorky, **Sobranie sochinenii v tridtsiati tomakh**. Vol. 29. (Moscow, 1955): 177-80.

> the leading figure was Vynnychenko, was active in Ukraine as a sovereign force, independent of Russian Social Democracy. Lenin and his ideological cohorts were unable to forgive Vynnychenko the writer for his ruthless portrayal, in his works, of everything which was sickening, pathological and anti-social not only in the old bourgeois society, but also in the new, revolutionary, socialist one... With the piercing eye of an artist, Vynnychenko saw not only the dedicated and honest fighters against autocracy, but also the satanists, the people who were possessed with the idea of power, rulership, terror -- socially dangerous, soulless, extremist fanatics."[121]

The specific criticisms of his literary works which Vynnychenko elicited from Russian writers, caused Vynnychenko to publicly defend his ideas in publicistic pamphlets and open letters. We may consider Vynnychenko's open letters his most earliest and clearest statements on the political views of Russian Social Democracy.[122] Vynnychenko used such occassions to summarize his criticisms of bourgeois morality and to show its overwhelming influence in the lives of the Russian intelligentsia. Vynnychenko considered the question of personal morality to be crucial in the healthy development of any social aggregate. He believed that revolutionaries should live their daily lives as revolutionaries; for him, the personal and the political were inextricably fused. Vynnychenko's concern for personal integrity, his obsession with the reconciliation of one's thoughts and emotions with one's actions, so important in later years, are evident at this time.

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[121] Hryhorii Kostiuk, **Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho doba** (New York, 1980): 38.

[122] See Appendix I for a listing of his letters -- the most important one being his "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv," **Nash holos** 9-10, (Lviv, 1911): 451-79; 11-12, (1911): 529-64.

To summarize, Vynnychenko was a person who grew up in a community with diverse national and social characteristics which made him sensitive, from an early age, to the twin concerns of national oppression and socio-economic exploitation. His successes in the literary arena gave him opportunities to establish a network of friendships across Europe and gave him a prominence which he made use of in his political work in the USDRP. Until the defeat of the 1905 revolution, Vynnychenko the teller of stories about peasant and worker cultures, the painter of the psychological profiles of the various social classes in the small towns of Ukraine was combined with Vynnychenko the political agitator who supported armed struggle against tsarist despotism. By 1911, Vynnychenko had progressed to concetrating on the examination of the personal value systems of leading members of the middle class -- many of whom were leaders in the workers' movement (which included the UPSR, USDRP, and the RSDRP). The critique which Vynnychenko developed of socialist intellectuals and party activists, was attacked by non-socialist critics for its subject matter, and denounced by socialist critics for its political content. The attacks on Vynnychenko though, instead of discouraging him, served to strengthen his determination to examine and expose the hypocritical actions and the personal morality of Ukrainian and Russian socialist leaders. His literary and political works from this period also contained elements of a socialist ethic which Vynnychenko developed in reaction to the destructive, oppressive social relationships in which he found himself in the Ukrainian and Russian emigre communities throughout Europe. Vynnychenko would be guided by his socialist ethic throughout his lifetime and it would be severely tested during the most turbulent period in Ukraine's history -- the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921.

3. THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF UKRAINE

Vynnychenko was not only a talented writer, he was also a leading member of one of the largest and oldest Ukrainian revolutionary parties in Ukraine. The USDRP, which had its roots in the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (Revoliutsiina ukrainska partiia -- RUP), had the support of Ukrainians in the cities and the countryside. Although the USDRP suffered serious set-backs during the period of reaction after 1907, it continued to grow secretly and quietly with the help of leading Ukrainian intellectuals, with Vynnychenko as the most public figure. Vynnychenko's popularity and prestige as a writer assisted him in establishing a network of contacts throughout Europe and in Ukraine for carrying out political work. Specifically, his ties with members of the Society of Ukrainian Progressivists (Tovarystvo ukrainskykh postupovtsiv -- TUP)[123] -- a society which took the lead in taking power in Ukraine during the first few weeks after the abdication of Nicholas II in March 1917[124] -- gave

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[123] TUP was formed in 1905 (Matvii Stakhiv, **Ukraine and the European Turmoil, 1917-1919** (New York, 1973): 36) or 1908 (Jurij Borys, **The Sovietization of Ukraine, 1917-1923** (Edmonton, 1980): 70) as a strictly cultural-educational society of liberal democrats concerned with publishing Ukrainian-language newspapers, establishing private schools, conducting research activities, etc. Also known as the Union of Ukrainian Progressives or Ukrainian Progressivist Association (Soiuz ukrainskykh postupovtsiv), it had members in major towns and cities throughout Ukraine, as well as in Moscow, Petersburgh, and in the Kuban. See P. Chyzhevskyi, "Vidrodzhennia natsii," **Volia** 2, no. 2 (17 April 1920): 73; and especially Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 1. (New York, 1969): 124.

[124] Leading members included M. Hrushevsky, S. Iefremov, Iev. Chykalenko, O. Lototskyi, Stebnytskyi, Matushevskyi, D. Antonovych, Kh. Kryzhanovskyi, I. Kryzhanovskyi, I. Shrah,

Vynnychenko the opportunity to form the first socialist government. It was in his capacity as head of the government and head of the USDRP that brought Vynnychenko into daily contact with leading Ukrainian and Russian socialist leaders. As we shall see in this chapter, Vynnychenko's participation in the running of the country was always motivated by a desire to extend the national rights of Ukrainians. And although he received the support of liberal Ukrainian intellectuals, Vynnychenko made repeated attempts to persuade his party, the government, and parliament, to establish dialogue and cooperation with the Russian Social Democrats.

3.1 The Revolution Begins

On March 4 1917, members of TUP called a meeting and elected an executive committee with Mykhailo Hrushevsky (who was on his way to Kiev from exile in Moscow) as head. The executive committee elected at this meeting became a national (all-Ukrainian) body with representatives from cultural, educational, and political organizations, cooperatives, and other national organizations which had

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[124](cont'd) and Prykhodko. On March 25-6 1917 it was renamed the Union of Ukrainian Autonomists-Federalists (Soiuz ukrainskykh avtonomistiv-federalistiv) (Matvii Iavorskyi, "Problema ukrainskoi natsional-demokratychnoi revoliutsii, ii osnovy ta rukhovi syly," **Chervonyi shliakh** 3, no. 48 (March 1927): 98) and then reformed as the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists (Ukrainska Partiia Sotsiialistiv Federalistiv -- UPSF) (Isaak Mazepa, **Ukraina v ohni i buri revoliutsii.** Vol. 1. (Munich, 1951): 8, 26).

their headquarters in Kiev.[125] This body came to be known as the Ukrainian Central Rada.

Although the Central Rada's initial objectives were stated as being national-cultural in nature, the force of circumstances quickly moved it to take up political issues.[126] The Central Rada's calls for the re-opening of Prosvita societies and Ukrainian language schools were met with hostility from the old tsarist governmental apparatus in Ukraine, as well as from many Russian socialist leaders. When large Ukrainian demonstrations appeared in March 1917 in Petrograd (25,000 people), the Central Rada's executive body met with members of the Kiev Soviet of Workers' Deputies[127] and the Kiev Council of United Social Organizations (Rada obiednannykh hromadskykh orhanizatsii -- ROHO) Executive Committee and announced their plans to begin re-establishing Ukraine's autonomy. To this announcement, the Russian SR leader and head of the Petrograd Soviet, Nezlobin, declared that the demand for autonomy was a "stab in the back of the Russian revolution" and that all such actions would be answered with bayonets. Major Russian SR and SD leaders and SD newspapers (such as **Kievskaia mysl**) consistently attacked the Central Rada in an attempt to bring disunity into the ranks of the various Ukrainian parties which formed the Central Rada. Vynnychenko saw the dangers which these Russian socialist leaders posed to the development of the Ukrainian Revolution and immediately prepared to leave Moscow where he had been in hiding since the outbreak of the war.[128] On 16 March 1917, Vynnychenko boarded a train in Moscow for Kiev, to help the Central Rada in realizing the slogan under which it was first established: "Without national liberation there can be no social liberation."[129] He arrived in Kiev to participate in a massive demonstration in Kiev of 100,000 people on 19 March 1917.[130] Then on 22 March 1917, at the Extraordinary Congress of the USDRP (organized by Vynnychenko) the following programmatic resolution was passed:

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[125] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 1. (New York, 1969): 15.

[126] John S. Reshetar, **The Ukrainian Revolution: A Study in Nationalism** (Princeton, 1952): 48.

[127] Unlike Russia, in Ukraine the Soviets, less numerous and with fewer members, coexisted side by side with the council (or Rada) organizations.

> Considering the fact that the fullest development of the creative forces of Ukraine demand the broadest economic-political self-determination of Ukraine; taking into account the fact that the federal system of the Russian state, as a union of autonomous national-territorial or simply territorial units is not only harmless to the development of the proletariat of all Russia... but is even beneficial to it;

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[128] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 255, 265.

[129] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1.** (Vienna, 1920): 79.

[130] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 259-60, 264.

> taking into account the fact that the federation of autonomous national or regional units is the best guarantee of the democratic and national rights of every nation or region,
>
> the Congress of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party calls for, with unbending decisiveness, the longstanding demand of the party -- the autonomy of Ukraine as the first, unpostponeable, immediate task of the present moment of the Ukrainian proletariat and of all Ukraine...[131]

For the next few weeks, Vynnychenko emersed himself in the work of the USDRP and organized **Nashe zhyttia** and **Robitnycha hazeta** (the USDRP's official organ) of which he became the editor-in-chief. Soon after, on 8 April 1917, at a closed session of the Ukrainian National Congress (Ukrainskyi natsionalnyi kongres), Vynnychenko (and S. Iefremov) were elected deputy chairpersons of the Central Rada.[132] On 20 April 1917, during a joint meeting of the presidium of the Kiev Executive Committee of the ROHO, the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' deputies, and the Soviet of the Coalition of Students' Unions, Vynnychenko spoke about the brilliant example which the Poles in Kiev were revealing in their struggle for their national rights by organizing their own military units and establishing a central coordinating organization for all Poles in Ukraine. He praised the Bohdanivtsi soldiers for their contribution to the liberation struggle by ignoring the threats of Russian military leaders against soldiers who independently established Ukrainian military units[133], and presented a resolution which gave support to the idea of the Ukrainianization of army units and supported the demands of the Bohdanivtsi to be formally constituted as a Ukrainian military formation.

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[131] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1.** (Vienna, 1920): 45.

[132] **1917 god na Kievshchine** (Kiev, 1928): 32.

During the next few months, Vynnychenko appeared at numerous conferences where he presented his party's positions on a series of questions ranging from the Ukrainianization of the schools and army, to warnings about the annexationist plans of certain Russian Social Democrats.[134] On 12 May 1917, at the close of the first All-Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress, a delegation (made up of Vynnychenko, Iefremov, M. Kovalevskyi, H. Odynets, D. Korobenko, S. Pysmennyi, O. Pylkevych, A. Cherniavskyi, Rovinskyi and Snizhnyi) was elected to meet with the Provisional Government and with the Petrograd Soviet to negotiate autonomous status for Ukraine. Vynnychenko, as the head of the delegation, presented Prince Lvov his memorandum[135] with a list of nine demands:

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[133] V. Vynnychenko, "Dopovid na ekstrennomu ob'ied. zasid. rady robitnychykh i viiskovykh deputativ." (20 April 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine** (Kiev 1928): 45; and also "Ukrainskyi Olster," **Ukrainskyi holos** (5 Sept 1917): 3.

[134] See his "Dopovid na pershomu vseukrainskomu viiskovomu zizdi." (6 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine** (Kiev, 1928): 66.

1. an act declaring Ukraine autonomous;
2. the participation of Ukrainians in future peace talks;
3. the creation of a Commissariat for Ukraine in Petrograd;
4. the recognition of a separate Commissar for Ukraine;
5. the separation of Ukrainian soldiers into their own units;
6. the Ukrainianization of the schools;
7. the appointment of people sympathetic to Ukrainian needs to posts in Ukraine;
8. the assignment of money from the state treasury for Ukrainian cultural needs; and
9. the release and return home of Galicians interned in Russia.[136]

These demands were not met favourably either by the members of the Provisional Government (Shchepkin, Pertazhytskyi, Manuilov, Chernov, Tuhan-Baranovskyi) who met with the delegation, or by members of the Petrograd Soviet (Chkheidze). After being shuffled from one ministry to another, Vynnychenko visited M. Gorky who informed him about the Bolsheviks' plans to overthrow the Provisional Government and establish a proletarian state. He mentioned that the Bolsheviks supported the right of nations to independence, but reserved the last word on the matter for a future date. After the delegation returned to Kiev, the Provisional Government informed the Central Rada that the list of demands could not be met. This led to the calling of the second All-Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress in Kiev for 5 June 1917. On 1 June Kerensky issued a resolution which forbid the holding of the Soldiers' Congress even though at that moment the Polish National Soldiers' Congress was taking place in Petrograd, and the Petrograd Soviet was organizing the All-Russian Soldiers Congress.[137] Upon hearing this, Hrushevsky announced, at the first All-Ukrainian Peasants' Congress which was taking place at the time, the memorable words "the holiday of the revolution has come to an end! A criticial period is approaching! Ukraine must be organized! Only the Ukrainian people themselves may decide their fate!"[138]

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[135] V. Vynnychenko, "Dokladna zapyska delegatsii Ukrainskoi tsentralnoi rady koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vykonavchomu komitetovi rady robitnychykh ta soldatskykh deputativ." **Visti z ukrainskoi tsentralnoi rady** 8 (May 1917): 1-3.

[136] John S. Reshetar, **The Ukrainian Revolution** (Princeton, 1952): 56.

3.2 The Revolution Deepens

The second All-Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress, thanks to the publicity inadvertantly given by Kerensky's ban, was attended by 2500 delegates from all fronts representing over 1,500,000 soldiers. On the basis of the events of these few days, Vynnychenko wrote a document which was to lay the basis for Ukraine's move to independence. On the evening of

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[137] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 1. (New York, 1969): 66.

[138] John S. Reshetar, **The Ukrainian Revolution** (Princeton, 1952).

10 June 1917, at the close of the congress, Vynnychenko, as a member of the Supreme Military Committee and the Central Rada, read out his document which came to be known as the first Universal, and which contained all the demands rejected by the Provisional Government. The Universal constituted what Vynnychenko called "serving notice of intent" to vacate the premises sometime in the future. It was the first step on the road to national state independence for Ukraine. The constant threats of reprisals against the Central Rada by Russian socialist leaders, and the growing economic and social disruptions that engulfed Ukraine, forced the Ukrainian leaders to take up the task of directly governing Ukraine themselves.

On 15 June 1917, the Central Rada elected the General Secretariat with Vynnychenko as General Secretary of internal affairs and head of the Secretariat. This first Ukrainian government in the 20th century was created after it became clear that the Provisional Government was unwilling to negotiate with the Central Rada for a division of powers nor capable of exercising its power in Ukraine to keep order. Although the General Secretariat was set up to carry out the instructions of the Central Rada, Vynnychenko soon issued a declaration which proclaimed the General Secretariat the executive organ of power in Ukraine and listed the Secretariat's plan of action.[139] It was a plan which called on the Ukrainians to work jointly with the Russian Social Democrats and the SR's, if possible, and independently, if necessary, to establish a new social and economic order in Ukraine. At last, it seemed, Vynnychenko had achieved a position and the opportunity from which to change the destiny of the millions of his countrymen. But the implementation of his plan of national liberation for Ukrainians met numerous obstacles not only from among Russian socialist leaders, but also from among Ukrainian leaders of his own party, and of such parties as the Ukrainian SR's and the Party of Ukrainian Socialist Federalists (UPSF). Vynnychenko was met with criticism and opposition to his orders and recommendations on running the country over fundamental questions of economic and political reform in Ukraine. Due to the way the national question was intertwined with social-economic questions, reform had to proceed simultaneously on all fronts. But socio-economic reform was best carried out in cooperation with other national and political groups in Ukraine and Russia. Vynnychenko understood this, as revealed by his constant attempts to maintain friendly relations with the rulers in Petrograd. His attempts to cooperate with the ruling party in Petrograd (from October 1917 -- with the Bolsheviks) gave ammunition to his opponents who questioned his commitment to the Ukrainian national liberation struggle. As well, his proposals for solving the socio-economic problems of Ukraine, frequently brought him into conflict with both conservative and radical Ukrainian intellectuals. Although the solutions to the agrarian problem necessitated drastic steps against the Ukrainian landowners, the Church, etc., Vynnychenko was frequently condemned with a treasonous behaviour to the cause of Ukrainian national liberation. Because these questions were so important in the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921, and because Vynnychenko's experiences in working to resolve these questions had an important influence on his political evolution, we must examine the details of his positions on Ukrainian independence and autonomy.

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[139] V. Vynnychenko, "Persha dekliariatsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 26 June 1917]. In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka** (New York, 1983): 299-303.

4. VYNNYCHENKO'S GOVERNMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION

In this chapter we shall examine Vynnychenko's evolution to a position of supporting independence for Ukraine, and then his devolution away from Ukrainian nationalists with whom he had cooperated while attempting to build a national state. Although Vynnychenko became the most severe critic of those Ukrainian Social Democrats who maintained allegiance to Symon Petliura, and, though he came out clearly in support of Ukrainian national communism after the second Soviet invasion in 1919, Vynnychenko always defended the national rights of Ukrainians as a matter of principle.

4.1 Nationality Rights Versus National Rights

The most important fact about Vynnychenko's political evolution was his undeviating commitment to improving the political and social lot of the Ukrainian nation. This single objective overrode other concerns when they conflicted with it. As Professor Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky argued in a path-breaking paper on Vynnychenko's politics,[140] it was not Vynnychenko's commitment to state independence which held his uncompromising loyalty, but his dedication to the Ukrainian people which eventually led him to support state independence for Ukraine. For Vynnychenko, independence was not a principle but a means to an end. It was a tactical question. Anything which helped improve the socio-economic conditions of Ukrainian peasants and workers, including the struggle for political independence, received his support. Vynnychenko wrote:

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[140] Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Suspilno-politychnyi svitohliad Volodymyra Vynnychenka u svitli ioho publitsystychnykh pysan." **Suchasnist** 9 (237) (Sept 1980): 66.

> We, Ukrainian Social Democrats are against state independence, but we have never promised that we will not change our views on this question if there is a change in the political and economic conditions which encourage the class struggle of the proletariat.[141]

Rudnytsky correctly underlined the fact that notwithstanding Vynnychenko's eventual ideological evolution (during his stay in Russia and Ukraine in 1920), he never changed, nor renounced the basic ideas he expounded in his **Vidrodzhennia natsii** (written from July 1919 to January 1920) on the nature of the history of the Ukrainian Revolution. Rudnytsky wrote:

> The basic theses of **Vidrodzhennia natsii** are repeated in Vynnychenko's publicistic writings from the last years of his life... Vynnychenko was the co-author of the third and fourth Universals, which he never renounced, even when he accepted the platform of a Soviet form of government while

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[141] A speech presented by Vynnychenko at a session of the Mala Rada on 10 October 1917 during the debate on the calling of the elections to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly. See V. Vynnychenko, ["Dopovid na zasidanni Maloi Rady."] (10 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by V. Manilov. (Kharkiv, 1928): 287-8.

> searching for an understanding with the Bolsheviks. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity and consistency of Vynnychenko's independentist convictions.[142]

A consistency, we might add, which began in June 1917, when Vynnychenko wrote the first Universal. This is supported by Vynnychenko's statements at various times.[143]

There are other historians who have quite a different view of Vynnychenko's politics. Thus, Liubomyr Vynar called Volodymyr Vynnychenko "the most tragic figure in Ukrainian history" who not only had an erratic commitment to Ukrainian statehood, but was politically naive for having had faith in the Moscovite 'peoples' commissariats' and in 'their' social revolution.[144] According to Vynar, the Ukrainian state of 1917-1918 failed to survive because of Vynnychenko's personal failure as a political leader which was tied to his emotional character and his split political soul.[145] The idealist and shibboletic character of such an explanation of the failure of the Ukrainian liberation struggle becomes most evident when when we consider Vynar's condemnation of Vynnychenko for having a *social* consciousness; for *admitting and trying to resolve* the contradictions inherent in the struggle for social liberation and national independence. After quoting Vynnychenko's entry for March 8, 1918 in his diary, Vynar comments:

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[142] Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Suspilno-politychnyi svitohliad Volodymyra Vynnychenka u svitli ioho publitsystychnykh pysan." **Suchasnist** 9 (237) (Sept 1980): 62-3.

[143] For example, see V. Vynnychenko, ["Dopovid na ostanni zasidanni ukrainskoi tsentralnoi rady."] (28 April 1918) Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 171-3.

[144] Liubomyr Vynar, ["Review of Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk, 1911-1920"], **Ukrainskyi istoryk** 1-2, no. 73-4 (1982): 104.

[145] Ibid. See also Panas Fedenko, **Isaak Mazepa: Borets za voliu Ukrainy** (London 1954): 54, where he says, "This unsureness on the part of leading people was a great political and personal tragedy. Vynnychenko, Hrushevsky and others who swung between democracy and 'sovietism', lived through a spiritual drama..."

> There is no doubt that this emotional ideological contradiction interfered on the political activity of Vynnychenko... He was unable to promote the ideology of Ukrainian statehood, [he was] unable to become a prominent builder of a Ukrainian Democratic Republic. That is why it is incorrect to compare V. Vynnychenko with M. Hrushevsky and Symon Petliura, who understood the importance and nature of the Ukrainian National State in 1917-18. Vynnychenko counterposed the national rebirth of Ukraine to the 'social revolution' of the Moscow 'peoples' commissars' and this led him into the camp of the enemy of Ukrainian statehood, and to national political suicide."[146]

It should be pointed out that it was not Vynnychenko who counterposed the national question to the social question. The tragedy of the Ukrainian Revolution lay precisely in the historically created situation where the social structure of Ukraine was the well-spring from which a whole series of forces were set into motion which counterposed the national to the social question. That various political leaders took, or failed to take advantage of the resulting tensions between these two questions to further certain aims is not to say that political leaders were the cause of these tensions. Also, concerning the point just quoted above, on the differences between Vynnychenko, Hrushevsky and Petliura, it is *not* true that Vynnychenko did not understand the importance or the nature of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic. Both of the UNR's chief architects (Hrushevsky and Vynnychenko) constantly reaffirmed the importance of Ukrainian statehood.[147] A perusal of a fraction of the over 100 political tracts and letters[148] written by Vynnychenko on this topic would show that Vynnychenko was always, like Hrushevsky, motivated by the twin concerns of national rights and social justice for the Ukrainian people. Vynnychenko understood that one could not obtain the former without the latter.

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[146] Liubomyr Vynar, ["Review of Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk, 1911-1920."], **Ukrainskyi istoryk** 1-2, no. 73-4 (1982): 103-4.

The question of Vynnychenko, Hrushevsky, and other major leaders in the Central Rada being in opposition to Ukrainian independence at various times, must be seen in the light of the demands made by the representatives of the conservative elements in the Rada (many of whom were members of the landowning class) whose economic interests were innimical to those of the vast majority of Ukrainian peasants. It is not an inconsistency in political principles that was revealed by Vynnychenko when on one day he defended independence for Ukraine and then the next he showed his preference for a federal system. Rather, it was a sign of an extreme political astuteness characterized by a firm grasp of the specific political context in which certain demands were put forward and defended. The ability of Vynnychenko to accurately measure the balance of political forces at any specific moment in time and to take up the appropriate political posture, was clearly revealed during Vynnychenko's negotiations with the Provisional Government and with the Bolsheviks. When the General Secretariat submitted a list of demands to the Provisional Government which involved the principle of the recognition of the Central Rada as the legitimate representative power in Ukraine, members of the Ukrainian Socialist Federalist Party criticised these demands as being too moderate. They wanted the Central Rada to declare Ukraine independent. Similarly, the Soiuz khliborobiv Sobstvennikov -- a conglomerate of wealthy landowners and businessmen, also called for Ukrainian independence shortly after the abdication of the Tsar. One historian and participant in these events explains the reasons they supported independence:

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[147] See especially Hrushevsky's speech on federalism and statehood in Stoiko's "Zizd narodiv u Kyivi 1917 roku," **Ukrainskyi istoryk** 3-4, no. 55-6 (1977): 24.

[148] See appendix 1.

V.N. Andriievskyi, in his interesting memoirs about

> the Poltava region in 1917, explains how the organisers of the first provincial congress of the "Khliborobov-Sobstvennikov"... Kovalenko and Starytskyi admitted to him that they stood for an independent Ukraine because they could not go along the same path as that taken by the revolutionary Ukrainian Democracy because the latter had made an agreement with Russian Democracy.[149]

That is, "already in the spring of 1917... several large landowners and wealthy peasants attempted to unite on the basis of defending the right to own land" and to push for "the full separation of Ukraine from *anarchized Russia*."[150] Thus, conservative circles, such as Mikhnovskyi, began to unite on the basis of the right to own land and political independence. To demand independence for Ukraine at this time was little more than a provocation. It was in reaction to this reaction that Vynnychenko and Hrushevsky strove for a federative union with Democratic Russia.

> The Ukrainian General Secretariat, together with all of Democratic Russian society, while recognizing the right of every nation to complete independence, at the same time recognizes the right of the Ukrainian people to freely and without any limitations to reveal its will at a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.
>
> At the same time, the General Secretariat, firmly

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[149] Dmytro Doroshenko, **Istoriia Ukrainy: 1917-1923**. Vol. 1. (Uzhhorod, 1932): 76.

[150] Ibid. Emphasis added.

> standing on the basis of the its declaration of 29 September, will conduct its activities with the aim of the unity of a Russian Rederative Republic.[151]

Vynnychenko never consciously encouraged the growth of Ukrainian nationalism. But neither did he take any steps against the growth of Ukrainian nationalism. Instead, he attempted to direct the movement that had nationalism as its ideology, towards the goal of an egalitarian, classless and democratic society. Many of the demands made by Ukrainian nationalists were part of Vynnychenko's program for liberation. However, Vynnychenko understood that a liberation movement which ignored the rights of other national groups and the social demands of peasants and workers, could never meet with success.

4.2 Vynnychenko Dissents

There were a number of moments in the course of the revolution when the Central Rada's policies and decisions were determined without Vynnychenko's participation and which dealt major blows to Ukrainian-Russian relations and to the cause of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle. One such moment occured on 26 October 1917 when the small Rada accepted a resolution on the Bolshevik uprising of the previous day. In that resolution the Bolshevik uprising was condemned.[152] At that moment, Vynnychenko had just arrived in Petrograd to carry on negotiations.[153] The consequences of this resolution were far-reaching. The Ukrainian Bolshevik members of the newly-formed Committee for the Defence of the Revolution (Komitet okhorony revoliutsii -- KOR) quit the Committee. Along with this, contact with the new government in Petrograd was broken.[154]

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[151] V. Vynnychenko, "Zaiava Heneralnoho sekretariata tymchasovomu uriadi v spravi sklykannia ukrainskoho narodnoho soimu." (17 October 1917) in **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by V. Manilov. (Kharkiv, 1928): 297.

Later, Vynnychenko wrote about this event as a major mistake made by the Central Rada.

> How and why could the Central Rada, which itself stood against the Coalition Government and in support of the power of the proletariat and peasantry condemn those, who realized their own demands? Instead of condemning them, why didn't the Central Rada do the same thing? Why didn't it decisively start to develop that revolution which it also viewed as being socialist?[155]

The reason, so it seemed to Vynnychenko and other Ukrainian socialist leaders, at the time, was that the Soviets in Ukraine were in the hands of Russian and Russified workers. Most Ukrainian socialist leaders would agree with Vynnychenko when he said:

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[152] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2.** (Vienna, 1920): 68.

[153] Jurij Borys, **The Sovietization of Ukraine, 1917-1923: The Communist Doctrine and Practice of National Self-Determination** (Edmonton, 1980): 112.

[154] Ibib., p. 113.

[155] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2.** (Vienna, 1920): 105-6.

> "All power to the Soviets" -- this meant in reality the leading role for the urban proletariat. But we did not have enough of that proletariat to insure our national demands. We were afraid that with the rule of the Soviets there will come that same Russian power against which we were forced to fight so hard. We did not believe that our Russified proletariat would stand up actively in defense of our statehood, of our national gains...[156]

Fear of Russian nationalism was only one of the important reasons why the Central Rada fought against the Soviets and the Bolsheviks. The other reason involved the presence of conservative views (on socio-economic change) within leading circles in the Central Rada. Vynnychenko was forced to deal with these circles on a daily basis.

It is not possible to write about Vynnychenko's criticisms of the Bolsheviks without referring to his criticisms of anti-socialist Ukrainians and of those who harmed the national rights of Ukrainians. For, in fact, Vynnychenko's criticisms of the Bolsheviks were tempered by the destructive role played by such Ukrainian leaders as Petliura and Skoropadsky. The first such leader, and the one that figured as a key catalyst in Vynnychenko's devolution from the side of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was Hetman Skoropadskyi. Coming on the heels of Skoropadskyi,

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[156] Ibib., p. 106.

Symon Petliura was to be the major force that jettisoned Vynnychenko another step further -- to the side of the Bolsheviks. Such a political evolution on the part of Vynnychenko constitutes the best mirror of the experiences of whole sections of the Ukrainian people during the Ukrainian Revolution. It was in reaction to a right-wing reaction which directed the decisions of Vynnychenko -- frequently to the benefit of radical authoritarian groups. Pavlo Khrystiuk[157], writing about the Ukrainian Revolution and of Vynnychenko's history of it, referred to exactly this aspect of Vynnychenko's criticism of the Bolsheviks:

> The unlimited harm which... the Moscovite occupation brought to the Ukrainian Revolution is ignored by V. Vynnychenko. His whole (sometimes very harsh) criticism of the politics of the Moscow Bolsheviks in Ukraine is based not on principled divergences, not on an understanding of the Ukrainian Revolution as an independent process, unfolding according to its own laws which those occupations harmed... but on purely technical grounds. In principle, ideally, he essentially justifies those occupations.[158]

Was Vynnychenko guilty of this serious charge? It is true, as Khrystiuk pointed out in support of his charge, that when we read Vynnychenko's scathing criticisms of the Ukrainian Social Democrats[159], Socialist Revolutionaries, and Socialist-Federalists, calling them "traitors," "incompetents," "villagers," etc., then it **seems** not only permissible but even necessary for the Moscow Bolsheviks to 'liberate' the Ukrainians.'[160] Yet, Khrystiuk had his own axe to grind and therefore tended to downplay the conservative, destructive tendencies present in the Ukrainian Social Democracy, the UPSR, and in the Central Rada. For Khrystiuk, Vynnychenko's criticism of the Rada appeared as the criticism of a neophyte who was attempting to win the graces of the leaders in Moscow. Certainly, with his hindsight (writing in 1921-1922), Khrystiuk had a strong argument against Vynnychenko. Afterall, shortly after the publication of his **Vidrodzhennia natsii**, Vynnychenko travelled to Moscow to negotiate for the transfer of power to the Ukrainian Communist Party (Ukrainska komunistychna partiia -- UKP) of which he was a representative in Vienna. *That* is what Khrystiuk perceived as being the main goal of Vynnychenko.[161]

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[157] Pavlo Khrystiuk, "Provyna pered ukrainskoiu revoliutsiieiu: V. Vynnychenko. 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," **Boritesia-Poborete!** 5 (Dec 1920): 36-66.

[158] Ibid., p. 48.

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[159] Mazepa, Shadlun, Mykhailiv, Matiushenko, Martos, Livytskyi, Ieremiiv, Suprun, Sknar, Poniatenko, and others. See V. Vynnychenko, "Shcho take teper ukrainska sotsiial-demokratiia?" **Nova doba** 1 (6 March 1920): 3-4.

[160] Pavlo Khrystiuk,"Provyna pered ukrainskoiu revoliutsiieiu: V. Vynnychenko. 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," **Boritesia-Poborete!**5 (Dec 1920): 49

[161] Rudnytsky also pointed to this aspect of the

Yet, with our hindsight, having seen Khrystiuk attack Vynnychenko so ruthlessly, and then himself travelling to live out his days in Ukraine, it **appears** that Khrystiuk was the real opportunist neophyte. It is true, as Khrystiuk pointed out[162], that Vynnychenko threw his harshest criticisms at Ukrainian Social Democracy; that he called it a petty-bourgeois formation. Vynnychenko certainly, in some respects, criticised the leaders of the USDRP and the UPSR more severely than the UPSF and the Bolsheviks. However, if we take into consideration the political conjucture during which Vynnychenko wrote his **Vidrodzhennia natsii**, it becomes clear that his criticisms played an important role in discrediting all the military and political plans of such leaders as Petliura and Isaak Mazepa, and acted as a drawing force of revolutionized workers to Ukrainian communism.[163] But Vynnychenko's criticism

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[161](cont'd) circumstances under which Vynnychenko's **Vidrodzhennia natsii** was written. Not only was it an apologetic for his revolutionary and state-building activities, but also, argued Rudnytsky, a prelude to the "next political action: his return to Ukraine under Soviet power and his own future cooperation with this power." (Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Suspilno-politychnyi svitohliad Volodymyra Vynnychenka u svitli ioho publitsystychnykh pysan." **Suchasnist** 9 (237) (Sept 1980): 62). Rudnytsky quickly adds, however, quite justifiably, that it would be wrong to reduce Vynnychenko's conception of the history of the Ukrainian Revolution to such pragmatic motivations.

[162] Pavlo Khrystiuk, "Provyna pered ukrainskoiu revoliutsiieiu: V. Vynnychenko. 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," **Boritesia-Poborete!** 5 (Dec 1920): 64-5.

[163] See M. Hrushevsky, "Ukraina, Polshcha i Rosiia." **Nova**

also acted as a vaccine against Russian Bolshevism. It is here, in Vynnychenko's handling of the Bolsheviks, as well as Petliura, that he effectively chizeled out a third road between reliance on the Entente and alligiance to Moscow. It is little wonder, then, that both the nationalist **Ukrainskyi holos** in Winnipeg, the progressive **Svoboda**, and the communist **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** in New York were able to serialize parts of his **Vidrodzhennia natsii**[144] and just as quickly denounce his political statements a few months later. Vynnychenko defended the socio-economic interests of Ukrainian workers and peasants; he also attacked the leadership of both communists and nationalists for their onesideness; each was attacked for fighting for their separate interests without understanding the need to combine the two demands.

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[143] (cont'd) **doba** 17 (26 June 1920): 2-3; and Iurko Tiutiunnyk, **Zymovyi pokhid, 1919-20 rr.** 3-e vyd. (New York, 1966).

[144] See V. Vynnychenko, "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3," **Ukrainskyi holos**, (7 April 1920 - 10 Nov 1920); "Savietska Ukraina v svitli pravdy," **Svoboda**, (1920); and V. Vynnychenko, "Kuluarno-naftiani 'patrioty-vozhdi,'" **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 20 (Winnipeg, 24 Apr 1920): 3.

5. VYNNYCHENKO AND SOCIAL CLASSES IN UKRAINE

Crucial to gaining an understanding of Vynnychenko's political evolution (as well as of the vast majority of the leaders of Ukrainian Social Demcracy) is knowledge of the nature of his socio-economic background and the psychological profile that accompanies that background. In terms of social class, the vast majority of the leaders of the Ukrainian Social Democracy were members of the petty-bourgeoisie. This class, caught in the centre between the conflicting demands of the working class, peasantry, and the autocracy, attempted to mediate between the competing interests which were intertwined with its own interests. This class was able to play this mediating role precisely because in realizing its own interests (e.g. insuring fundamental rights and freedoms, etc.), the interests of the working class and the peasantry were partially safeguarded. The petty-bourgeoisie (or middle class) thus found itself in a position where contradictory demands were made upon it. If it favoured any one class over the other, it would be forced to sacrifice those of its interests which were in opposition to the interests of the one it favoured. Why the middle class should move in the direction of supporting one class over another is a question that is crucial for understanding the outcome of the Ukrainian Revolution. In Vynnychenko's political evolution, we find mirrored the political evolution of the middle class in Ukraine during the course of 1917-1921, and vice-versa. Why the middle class should favour one class over another is also inextricably intertwined with the national question and the manner it is treated by different political parties. This was clearly explained by one of the few Ukrainian Bolsheviks to write articles on the national question. Writing at a time (1917) when strikes were spreading throughout the Russian Empire, when numerous peasants, soldiers and workers assemblies were calling for the transfer of power to the Soviets, and when many Bolsheviks were calling on Ukrainians to break ties with the politics of the bourgeoisie in Ukraine, and to join them in the struggle for socialist revolution, A. Gorvits attempted to put the brewing struggles into perspective. He gave an analysis of the current political conjecture and cautioned revolutionaries not to alienate potential allies:

> The struggle to rescue our revolution can only be conducted on the international arena. Before us, there are two perspectives: if the revolution is victorious, then we will create a transitional society to socialism; if not, then we will fall under the power of international imperialism. It is clear from this, that our tactic should be to elicit revolution in the West. Against the bourgeoisie we pose the solidarity of one class -- the international proletariat. What is the contemporary situation really like? The petty-bourgeoisie is unable to completely accept the proletarian point of view, because it feels capitalist oppression less

and it still nurtures some faith in it. The peasantry -- an element of our revolution, gains a consciousness of its class position with great difficulty and still submits to the influence of the authority of individualism and is constantly vacillating. At this moment the peasantry follows the Mensheviks and the Narodniki. It has not yet become disillusioned in capitalism and doesn't know that the way out is in decisive struggle. That is why it carries on a policy of conciliation; that is why the Soviets still do not have power in their hands. The petty-bourgeoisie has not yet outlived its faith in capitalism. Our task is to urge on the petty-bourgeoisie. Marx, characterizing that class, argued that the proletariat should terrorize the petty-bourgeoisie... But as long as the petty-bourgeoisie's faith in capitalism is not outlived, all our actions to take power will be adventurous. And, adventurism may bring us to the consequences of the Paris Commune. Our petty-bourgeoisie still believes in the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries. But the Coalition Governments' policies, the industrial disruptions, the bourgeois counterrevolution expressed in sabotage, lock-outs, the inhibiting measures employed by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies -- all this will sober up the petty-bourgeoisie...'[165]

Vynnychenko represented what Lev Iurkevych referred to as that new class of "urban Ukrainian intellectuals" who took the leadership of the Ukrainian national liberation movement at the turn of the last century.[166] Belonging to the middle class, only these representatives could raise the necessary trans-class slogans with such force and success to unite all social classes in Ukraine. The situation in which Vynnychenko's government found itself throughout 1917 was in some ways similar to that situation through which the Provisional Government of Lvov, Tsereteli and Kerensky had gone. As Ronald Suny has pointed out:

> Given the hostility between classes and their mutally antagonistic aspirations and interests, a coalition government could move neither to the left nor to the right without stirring up opposition. It could neither satisfy the demands of the peasants for the land nor attempt to protect the landlord's rights to private property. Paralyzed between its competing constituencies, all movement looked like vacillation, the product of a lack of will or determination, but was in fact the result of the real political bind faced by a government stretched

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[165] A. Gorvits, ["O politike rabochego klassa."] in **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by V. Manilov. (Kharkiv, 1928): 145-6.

[166] Lev Iurkevych, "Seredni kliasy i natsionalne vidrodzhenie." **Dzvin** 2 (1913): 110.

> between the extremes of a splintering society.[167]

But the similarities between these two governments are misleading because they hide the important differences which existed in the political cultures of the two countries. This is best illustrated by examining the major forces in each government. In almost all aspects, the USDRP was identical to the Menshevik variety of the RSDRP. The only point of divergence between the two parties was on the elaboration of, and activity around, the national question.[168] From the earliest moment when Social Democrats in Ukraine put socio-economic issues and the national question on an equal footing, we see the start of a massive social movement which supported and received support from the cultural rebirth of Ukraine. The first time that these two issues receive equal attention in a party program in the Russian Empire, is in the first Ukrainian political party in 20th-century Ukraine -- the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP). Parties with strictly national demands existed previously -- the "Tarasivtsi" for example. The Ukrainian Social Democrats and RUP's problem of overemphasizing the national question was dealt with by forcing the nationalist current[169] out of the party. One analyst commented:

> At the end of 1902, the founding congress of the

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[167] Ronald Grigor Suny, "Toward a Social History of the October Revolution." **American Historical Review**, 88, no. 1 (Feb 1983): 49.

[168] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 1. (New York, 1969): 125.

[169] The group led by Mikhnovskyi.

> party [the RUP] took place (after the national-democrats left the party). The party attempted to transform itself into a social democratic one. In issue number four of **Haslo** for 1903, a draft program of RUP was published, which was produced by the Kievians. The draft was essentially a copy of the Erfurt Program of German Social Democracy. The only thing new in this draft was the item on the autonomy for Ukraine.[178]

How the national question intervened to transform the activities of the Ukrainian socialist parties into what were objectively revolutionary steps is explained in any number of ways. The Ukrainian Communist Party (UKP), in a memorandum to the Third International explained this phenomenon in the following manner:

> The development of capitalism pushes the so-called 'non-historical' nations onto new paths, creating destructive and creative processes, disassembles the ethnographic mass and out of it creates classes and assists in the national awakening of the nation. According to Rudolf Hilferding, who is quoted by Lenin in his work on imperialism, capitalism squeezes itself also into the oppressed nations, revolutionizes to the core the old social relationships, destroys thousand-year old agrarian isolation of the 'nonhistorical' nations and pulls

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[178] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Narys istorii klasovoi borotby ta sotsiializmu.** Vol 3. ([Kiev?], 1925): 192.

them into the capitalist system of production.'[71]
And, this process of the transformation of Social Democratic parties into revolutionary movements can be gauged by analyzing the gradual evolution of these parties to the left during the crucial period from the abdication of the Tsar until the first Soviet invasion in December 1917. Throughout this whole period, the national question repeatedly appears as an intervening variable that deflected criticisms of the moderate socialists' inactivity around much needed socio-economic reforms. Whereas the Provisional Government quickly lost popular support over its vaccilation on fundamental questions of economic change, the Central Rada stayed in power much longer because of its ability to claim a legitimacy stemming from its commitment to the defense of the linguistic and cultural rights of all ethno-cultural groups in the country. As an example, we could look at the important events which transpired with the proclamation of the third Universal. In 1917, when all land which was not being utilized was nationalized with the proclamation of the third Universal, a storm of protest was raised by the conservative elements in the Central Rada. Shortly afterwards, an 'explanation' was published which negated the most important gain of the peasants which touched on the agrarian question.'[72] Yet, even many of the left-wing

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[71] **Memorandum ukrainskoi komunistychnoi partii kongresovi III komunistychnoho internatsionalu** (Vienna-Kiev, 1920): 5.

[72] See Borys Martos and A. Lototskyi, "Poiasnennia do III Universalu," Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 59.

elements of Ukrainian Democracy met any criticism of this document from the Bolsheviks with hostility.[173] The reason for this, explained Khrystiuk, was that

> the transfer of power into the hands of workers' and soldiers' deputies, with an insignificant mix of peasants, as was done by the Bolsheviks, meant, in fact, the transfer of power in Ukraine to non-Ukrainian, fringe elements. Clearly, if these elements did not regard the Ukrainian national liberation struggle positively... the fact of transferring power to them would be an unjustifiable limitation on the rights of the Ukrainian labouring population. Beside this, there was no need to hurry in transferring power in Ukraine into the hands of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies according to the Moscow example, because the Central Rada was after all... moving forward, becoming more revolutionary...[174]

At one point, Vynnychenko made apologies for his governments' practice (in 1917) of ignoring socio-economic reforms in favour of national-political ones in terms of the need to unite all classes to establish Ukrainian statehood.[175] Whatever criticisms the Bolsheviks made of the

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[173] Ibid.

[174] Ibid. p. 59-60.

[175] V. Vynnychenko, ["Dopovid na ostanni zasidanni ukrainskoi tsentralnoi rady."] (28 April 1918). Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 171.

Central Rada, whether they were correct or not, were never seriously considered by the Ukrainian leaders because of their hostility to the Bolsheviks' contempt for the Ukrainian language, culture and desire for independence. Vynnychenko declared in December 1917:

> ...We have firmly taken up the task of building a new Ukrainian state. But this is not to the liking of the Bolsheviks and that is why they go on about the 'bourgeoisness'[176] of the Central Rada. They are unable to openly and honestly admit that they are fighting as Great Russians. The Bolsheviks stand for the self-determination of nations and yet they impose their state schools on us. This is a repetition of 1906, when Lenin recognized Ukraine's rights up to separation, but was against allowing Ukrainian schools because this was, according to him, divisive of the working class... What is the Soviet of People's Commissars doing? Look around you. Freedom of speech has been destroyed. Only Bolshevik newspapers are published. Freedom to strike [has also been abolished], because the

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[176] It is true, as the Bolsheviks pointed out, some representatives of the bourgeoisie were still in the Central Rada. These elements (mainly members of the UPSF), whose interests in the socio-economic sphere were contrary to the demands of the vast population of Ukraine could certainly not be expected to defend the continuation of the revolution. In this sense the Central Rada was similar to the Provisional Government in Petrograd which refused to end the war or allow the carrying through of any major economic reforms. Yet, because of the intervention of the national question, the Central Rada continued to enjoy popular support.

> Bolsheviks recognize this right for themselves alone. Is this not counter-revolutionary, a struggle against the gains of the revolution?[117]

Khrystiuk, in an insightful comment on the contradictions in the General Secretariat's positions on various questions and on their activity on those questions commented:

> The General Secretariat's whole position lay in the fact that while it claimed that it was unable to carry out the socialist revolution in Ukraine, and, being mezmorized by the national-political struggle, the Secretariat in fact, in its daily activity, did not even care about introducing those socio-economic reforms which the worker-peasant majority of the Central Rada demanded. The old social-economic relationships were accepted almost untouched as the basis also for the rebirth of Ukrainian statehood: the Secretariat wished only to make minor changes in the proposed reforms... A position which is totally unrevolutionary and which the Ukrainian 'evolutionists' -- the Social Federalists --could peacefully share with Vynnychenko. [From this position] there occured, completely logically, the divergence of the two aspects of the Ukrainian revolution: the national-political and the

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[117] V. Vynnychenko ["Dopovid na pershomu zizdi vseukrainskoi rady robitnychykh, viiskovykh i selianskykh deputativ."] (4 Dec 1917) Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 71.

> socio-economic moments, a divergence which constantly led to a situation where the General Secretariat sacrificed the socio-economic moment to the national-political one, until it finally lost even the matter of Ukrainian statehood.[178]

This divergence of the national-political from the socio-economic aspects of the Ukrainian Revolution was repeatedly reinforced by either the lack of activity around widely favoured socio-economic legislation, or else by the activity around widely unfavoured legislation, such as the punishment of peasants who divided up the landlord's holdings, and the raids of the free Cossacks against labour leaders, pogroms, etc.[179] Later, when he quit the Directory and emigrated to Vienna, Vynnychenko complained that on the one hand, he was not aware, at the time, of the numerous acts of sabotage, by Ukrainians, of his governments' socio-economic policies, and of the numerous arrests of major trade union leaders and revolutionary workers and peasants, or of the distortion and concealment of messages to and from the Bolsheviks.[180] Even later, in 1937, Vynnychenko wrote that when the uprising against the Hetman was completed and the Bolsheviks began sending aid to communists in Ukraine, a controversy broke out among Ukrainian parties over cooperating with the Bolsheviks.

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[178] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 122.

[179] See Ibid., p. 123.

[180] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii** (Vienna, 1920).

Vynnychenko was alone, so he explains, in the Directory in calling for reaching an aggreement with the Bolsheviks. He adds:

> As I later discovered (unfortunately too late) Lenin also stood for reaching an agreement with us. Just as from our side our counterrevolutionary otamanshchyna did not want this and constantly wanted to fight, so also from the side of the Bolsheviks there were nationalists who interfered with the peace talks.[181]

Vynnychenko explains further, that a delegation to Moscow sent out by him on behalf of the Directory, concluded peace with the Bolsheviks but was stopped at the border by Directory troops and not allowed to notify the Directory leaders of the successful results of the peace talks.[182] As well, matters were not helped by the Bolsheviks' acts of aggression, provocation, and brutality against the Ukrainian peasants. These acts served merely to push the Ukrainian national movement to extreme right wing positions. The Bolsheviks, even in Russia, were guilty of creating the extreme reaction which threatened the whole revolution.

Jurij Borys has adeptly shown how and why Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders in Ukraine and Russia vacillated between ignoring Ukrainian national demands[183] and support for the idea of Ukrainian statehood.[184]

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[181] V. Vynnychenko, "Biohrafichni dani," **Pravda** 3 (Winnipeg, 20 Jan 1937): 2; 4 (27 Jan 1937): 3.

[182] Ibid. See also V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3.** (Vienna, 1920): 223-30.

To the Bolsheviks, then, support for Ukrainian national demands was a question of tactics in gaining control of the economic and political system in Ukraine and in the calculation of strengthening the security of Soviet Russia. Vynnychenko again:

> Reality forced the Bolsheviks to recognize the importance of the national moment in their tactics. But at that time they still did not understand, that it should also have significance in their whole program and in the activity of **every** socialist... they did not understand that without national liberation there could be no social liberation...[185]

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[183] In the early months of 1919 during the victory of the Red Army on all fronts, "Lenin asserted," writes Borys, "in complete harmony with the Luxemburgists, that the national movement in Ukraine had no deep roots and that even if it had, the national movement had been 'knocked out by the Germans.' He claimed that in Ukraine 'the language question is such that one does not even know whether Ukrainian is a mass language or not.'" V.I. Lenin, **Vosmoi sezd RCP(b)** (Moscow, 1919): 91 quoted in Jurij Borys, **The Sovietization of Ukraine** (Edmonton, 1980): 234.

[184] "During Denikin's offensive, beginning in August 1919, the CC RCP treated the leaders of the CPU as native notables... now not only the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture were recognized, but the Bolsheviks were called upon to be conciliatory towards the 'national feelings' which existed 'in the backwards sectors of the Ukrainian masses.' Lenin even went so far as to accept the principle of the Ukrainian socialist parties that there be a preponderance of peasantry in the 'revolutionary committees and soviets...'" Jurij Borys, **The Sovietization of Ukraine** (Edmonton, 1980): 252.)

[185] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2.** (Vienna, 1920): 265. Emphasis in the original. See also Vynnychenko's

As head of the first Ukrainian government (the General Secretariat), and then as head of the Directory, Vynnychenko had to take responsiblity for the achievements and the failures of these governments. Vynnychenko was successful in gaining certain rights for Ukraine during the time the Provisional Government existed in Petrograd. When the Bolsheviks took power, however, his colleagues in the Central Rada and the Directory consistently refused to recognize, and then negotiate, with the Bolsheviks. Vynnychenko stood alone in attempting to cooperate with the new rulers of the former Russian Empire.[186]

The peasants, workers, intellectuals, and small shop-keepers were demanding an end to the war, agrarian reform, and popular control of industry and transportation. Cooperation with the Bolsheviks would have secured Ukraine's eastern and northern borders and brought a measure of labour peace, thus allowing for the reconstruction of Ukraine's economy. Although cooperation between the Ukrainian socialist government and the Bolsheviks was in the interest of both countries, a series of events and circumstances

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[185] (cont'd) criticism of Lenin for viewing the national question as a tactical one, in his **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3.** (Vienna, 1920): 491.

[186] Vynnychenko's position towards the Bolsheviks was identical to the position held by the left Social Democrats who broke away from the USDRP (in January 1919) and formed the Ukrainian Social Democrats (Independentists) led by Tkachenko, Mazurenko, and Drahomyretskyi, and by the Internationalists (the left wing of the UPSR) who came to be called the Borotbisty and led by Shynkar, Mykhailychenko, Blakytnyi, Shumskyi, Lytvynenko and Lashkevych. Jurij Borys, **The Sovietization of Ukraine** (Edmonton, 1980): 266.

prevented any such agreement. Vynnychenko never ceased to mourn the failure of Ukrainian socialists to reach an agreement with the Bolsheviks[187] which would have insured that the administration, the party and the government in Ukraine remained in Ukrainian hands.

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[187] "I am depressed and disturbed. I wish that this huge disagreement which has occured [over the passage of White troops through Ukraine] between the Central Rada and the Peoples' Commissariat had never happened. Perhaps then, the Revolution would have unfolded differently. And, if the result would not have brought us socialism right now, then at least it would not have postponed its realization so far as it appears to be now." V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 280.

6. VYNNYCHENKO AND THE BOLSHEVIKS

During the revolutionary period of 1917 the first major open conflict which Ukrainian Social Democracy encountered with the Bolsheviks came shortly after the Bolsheviks took power in Petrograd in October while the third All-Ukrainian Military Congress was in progress in Kiev. At this congress, a resolution was passed which obligated all delegates to struggle against the Bolshevik demands to give all power to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.[188] Instead, power was to remain in the hands of the "only true representative of revolutionary democracy in Ukraine -- the Central Rada."[189] Unlike the Central Rada, the Military Congress did not condemn the Bolshevik take-over of power in Petrograd.[190] In fact, the Congress recognized the Bolsheviks as representing the interests of the working people.[191] The Provisional Government had revealed itself as being unrepresentative of the interests of the labouring democracy and so the Bolshevik power grab could not be called anti-democratic.[192] However, the Bolsheviks' call for transferring all power to the Soviets in Ukraine was rejected. Khrystiuk explained why:

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[188] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 47-8.

[189] Ibid., 48.

[190] It is true that at the start of the Congress, protests over the Bolshevik action were heard on the floor of the proceedings. However, when the Provisional Government sent Kyriienko and Hryhoriiev to take military control in Kiev, the Congress changed its attitude to the Bolshevik uprising. See Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 44.

[191] Ibid., p. 47.

[192] Ibid.

> Ukrainian revolutionary democracy was still faced with two tasks: socio-economic and national. While in the sphere of the socio-economic its sympathy (at least, a significant section of it) was clearly on the side of the leaders of the worker-peasant revolution -- the Moscow social democratic Bolsheviks -- in the sphere of the national-political it did not trust them (and it had reasons not to)... The transfer of power to the Soviet of Workers' and Soliders' Deputies in Ukraine meant its transfer at the same time into the hands of the non-Ukrainian Democracy, whether the latter wanted it or not. Russian troops sent from Moscow remained in Ukraine as before, notwithstanding how much Ukrainian social democracy tried to correct this "work" of the tsarist regime... The small urban proletariat was also mainly either non-Ukrainian or Russified... To transfer the unfinished struggle for national liberation into their hands was very risky, and psychologically, for the Ukrainian revolutionary masses who hitherto bore the whole burden of that struggle was almost completely impossible.[193]

This view of the Bolsheviks was shared by many Ukrainian political leaders of that period -- including Vynnychenko.

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[193] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 47.

It was on this basis that the Congress demanded that the Central Rada immediately proclaim an independent Ukrainian Peoples' Republic and put an end to the hostilities with Austro-Germany.

Vynnychenko's main criticism of the Bolsheviks in November 1917 concerned precisely the latters' demand to transfer all power to the Soviets. His criticism was actually a criticism of the legacy of underdevelopment and misdevelopment which tsarism had left in Ukraine after several centuries of its rule there. The destruction of Ukraine's autonomy, the subordination of its economy to the decisions of ruling circles in St. Petersburg, who in turn were interdependent on groups in Belgium, France, Germany, etc., the persecution of religious believers, the censorship and banning of Ukrainian books, all these facts contributed towards the creation of a nation which was handicapped psychologically, linguistically, culturally, politically, economically, and especially socially. With a distorted social structure, where the vast majority of labourers were Ukrainian peasants and where the vast majority of workers were Russian or Russianized, transferring power to the few Soviets in Ukraine[194] it seemed, meant placing the fate of the Ukrainian liberation movement and of the social revolution, in the hands of hostile, chauvinist forces.[195]

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[194] Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 60.

[195] From the point of view of Ukrainian Democracy, the Russian mensheviks and SR's were seen in this light because of their position on the national question.

This same conclusion was re-echoed in the UKP's analysis of the history of the Ukrainian liberation struggle three years later:

> At that time [1900-1917] there existed another group in Ukraine: the Russian Social Democratic Party, which had a larger influence on the urban worker than had Ukrainian Social Democracy. The reason for such a state of affairs was due to the imperialist and colonial policies of Russian and European capital in Ukraine; Russified cities and the forced creation of a privileged stratum of qualified Russian or Russified proletariat unconnected with the Ukrainian masses.[196]

It was Vynnychenko's experience of living in southern Ukraine during the first Bolshevik invasion (in January 1918) that established in him notion of an overwhelming destructive force that stood behind Russians of all political stripes "from the black hundreds to the Bolsheviks"[197] -- the notion of the 'one-undivided' [edina nedilima] Russia. This force was revealed not only in the political and military attacks of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks, but also in the background of the German intrigues with Hetman Skoropadskyi, as well as in the Entente's intrigues with Mazepa and Petliura:

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[196] **Memorandum ukrainskoi komunistychnoi partii kongresovi III komunistychnoho internatsionalu** (Vienna-Kiev, 1920): 6.

[197] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 287.

> If we go with the Entente -- we'll perish because of the reaction which will accompany the Entente, because of the disbelief of the people, and we'll fall into the clutches of the one-undivided, which is disgracefully standing behind the backs of its sympathetic partners, awaiting the appropriate hour. If we go with the Bolsheviks -- we'll perish because of the anarchy, and later because of that same reaction, behind the backs of which there stands that very same 'one-undivided'."[198]

When Vynnychenko spoke of "our brother-comrades,"[199] when he attacked them for their 'brotherly' embraces of Ukraine, it is clear he was referring to the Russian Social Democrats. Vynnychenko's experience with Russian Social Democracy since his first days of political involvement brought home to him the hard reality that revolutionaries, intellectuals, workers and peasants -- when members of a ruling nation -- were unable to understand the dynamics of revolutionary social change as it related to an oppressed nation.[200] Russian revolutionaries -- having finally succeeded in their life-long struggle to destroy the national unity which allowed the despotic tsarist regime to survive, were unable to come to terms (except militarily) with the national demands of an oppressed nation that began to grow at this time. Vynnyhenko pointed this out on the eve of the overthrow of the Hetman regime which was drawing up its plans to re-establish a 'one and undivided' Russian monarchial state:

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[198] Ibid. p. 321.
This "one-undivided" imperialist force is poignantly portrayed in the figure of Mykola Petrovych Biliankevych in Vynnychenko's **Mizh dvokh syl** -- a drama written immediately after Hetman Skoropadskyi's coup in the spring of 1918. Biliankevych is the Russian landlord who quietly sits back to watch the fratricidal warfare between Ukrainian socialists and nationalists. "Isn't it a truly interesting scene Mykhailo Petrovych," cynically asks another character, "how democracy chokes itself by the throat? Just a little bit longer and then you may pick up the pieces with your bare hands. What do you think? Just wait quietly a little bit longer and it'll be ready. True?" V. Vynnychenko, **Mizh dvokh syl: Drama na chotyry dii** (Kiev-Vienna, 1919): 31.

[199] V. Vynnychenko, "Rano vtomliuvatys," in **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka**. Edited by Hunczak and Solchanyk. (New York, 1983): 401-3.

> At the beginning of our liberation, we marched in a friendly, united national front... our 'brother-comrades' tried to sow disunity, destroy us... they weren't successful and that is why we succeeded in our cause -- the national-state liberation of our people. Now to the aid of the 'brother-comrades' come the 'brother-reactionaries'. Having united into one gang, they relentlessly follow us... scream... and wait for the appropriate moment when they might ...destroy us.[201]

Whether Russian 'brother-comrades' of the Menshevik, Bolshevik or Socialist Revolutionary variety, or whether

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[200] Serhii Mazlakh and Vasyl Shakhrai, in their **Do khvyli: Shcho diietsia na Ukraini i z Ukrainoiu.** 2d ed. (New York, 1967): 84-5 also mention the fact that all forces were used -- even non-Ukrainian proletarians -- in the fight against the Ukrainian movement.

[201] V. Vynnychenko, "Rano vtomliuvatys," **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka.** Vol. 1. Edited by Hunczak and Solchanyk. (New York, 1983): p. 403.

'brother-reactionaries' of the Kornilov-Denikin type, *all*, wrote Vynnychenko, had a common aim. In his diary, dated 10 February 1918, while staying in southern Ukraine in Berdiansk, Vynnychenko considered the fate of the Ukrainian Revolution and of the role of the Bolsheviks in it. Vynnychenko considered, with dismay, what he saw to be the massive support the Bolsheviks had managed to gain among the masses of Ukrainian peasants.

> If we look at the matter from another point of view... is there really a struggle of the poor against the rich; is it true that the poor have taken power and want to overthrow the rule of the "bourgeoisie"? Everything is true: all the cruelty, the brutality, the unnecessary anger, and many mistakes, etc. But the main point is that the masses of poor completely believe the Peoples' Commissars; they readily follow them. All the poor are Bolsheviks...[202]

Vynnychenko believed this support was due to the persistence and fanaticism in the accomplishment of their goals of socialist revolution which the Bolsheviks revealed.

> But the leaders of these masses know the direction they are heading, they are conscious of their goal. Thousands of human lives, spilt blood, the destruction of the lives of tens of thousands, cases of suicide, insanity, the ruin of agriculture and of

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[202] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 278.

> political and daily relations -- all these are serious facts. These are not tricks, but the kind of acts which are done consciously for the sake of certain goals and which they have allowed themselves to permit this to happen, because it is horrid to think that people could allow such pain to happen for the sake of temporary power. They cannot be blind to the fact that they have started a horrendous game in which they may lose their lives. Yet, they continue. What is this? Perhaps an undeviating faith in the possibility of reaching their goal? Are they really so profoundly and determinedly convinced that socialist revolution and a socialist order are completely possible in Russia?[203]

While reading these lines, it is important to keep in mind the fact that Vynnychenko did not experience the important socializing experience of the 'displaced person syndrome'[204] of this period. The 'pressure-cooker' effect which most members of the Central Rada experienced in January 1918 while staying in Zhytomyr and Kamianets-Podilsk during the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine was an experience which Vynnychenko did not experience. Vynnychenko did not follow the rest of his government there. Instead, he secretly travelled to southern Ukraine -- a region with the highest percentage of poor peasants in Ukraine. Here, in Berdiansk, while hiding alone (with his wife) from the Bolsheviks, Vynnychenko recorded his thoughts on the course which the revolution had taken, and of the role of the Bolsheviks in it, in his rational, typical way:

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[203] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 277-8.

[204] By this term I refer to a unique psychological experience which is super-imposed on the personalities of whole groups of people who have jointly lived through major social, political and economic crises and then forced to reside together in a foreign environment. Such an experience provides its participants with a strong sense of group loyalty where a major restructuring of personal value systems (re-socialization) occurs. Aside from the breaking up of family ties, it serves to erode all notions of respect for state authority. Group loyalty reinforces a strong we-they identity (most frequently based on emotional and religious elements), and appears to cross all socio-economic, sex, and age differences. Typical examples

> That the majority of Bolsheviks "do not give up, what they create," there is no doubt; that the broad masses are unconscious of the end result of that movement in which they participate, is also true; that they are guided by an elementary instinct of social revenge, by the idea of crude simple justice, as well as by lower feelings and motives of human nature, is also true. But the leaders of these masses know where they are going, they are conscious of their aim.[205]

It is here that we find Vynnychenko's first major comments (in his diary) on the nature of Bolshevism. "The

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[204](cont'd) of such experiences are the experiences of the tens of thousands of East Europeans during WWI and the Russian Revolution, the hundreds of thousands in WWII, and the millions living in refugee camps throughout the world today.

[205] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 277.

leaders of these masses know where they are going, they are conscious of their aim."[206] Vynnychenko shudders when he considers this reality -- but he does not run away from it; he does not fail to consider the full implications of the Bolshevik actions.

> And how are they unafraid of punishment for this? The punishment of their own, internal suffering, guilt, madness? One must really undeviatingly believe in one's cause, or else be a hero. Because they should know, that there is nowhere for them to hide if they lose the whole affair. The reaction will shoot them just as they do this with others. And, by throwing slogans to the Western European bourgeoisie and their governments, they will not even have the chance to escape over the border. They are inevitably faced with death...[207]

We see here how Vynnychenko comprehends the revolutionary struggle -- as an all-or-nothing affair. Either it will be a successful revolution which leads to complete socialism, or else, the Bolsheviks will lose everything. We also see that Vynnychenko, unlike most of his contemporaries, has already implicitly allowed for the possiblity that the Bolsheviks' struggle may be ultimately successful. Vynnychenko is undoubtedly attracted to the heroism displayed by the fanatical idealistic Bolsheviks and by the high stakes for which they play the game of revolution. Being a writer who had always taken up the cause of those in helpless and tragic situations, Vynnychenko admired the Bolsheviks because he saw that if they should lose, they would have nowhere to hide.

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[206] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 277.

[207] Ibid., p. 278.

When the Central Rada was forced to leave Kiev in January 1918 because of the Bolshevik take-over of Ukraine, Vynnychenko travelled by rail throughout southern Ukraine for several days, frequently changing trains and thus meeting numerous people.[208] On the trains, he soon saw the extent to which the Central Rada had compromised itself and the whole idea of **Ukrainianism** among the soldiers and peasants of Ukraine:

> At that time I did not believe in the particular sympathy of the people towards the Central Rada. But I never imagined that there could be such hatred -- especially among the soldiers. And, especially among those who could not even speak Russian... With what insult, anger and revengeful spite did they speak of the Central Rada, the General Secretariat, and their politics. But what was most disheartening and horrible, was the fact that they simultaneously ridiculed everything Ukrainian: the language, songs, schools, newspapers, Ukrainian books. One had the impression of a mother's son leading his mother to a field, tearing off her clothes, beating her on the

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[208] Ibid., p. 259-60.

> face, throwing her into the mud, and leaving her naked, beaten, and harrowed for ridicule, mockery, public disgrace, and shame.[209]

Vynnychenko argued that these widespread feelings of disgust towards everything Ukrainian were noticed by the Bolshevik leaders -- though incorrectly explained by them. The Bolsheviks explained these attitudes, argued Vynnychenko, as the result of the complete lack of any national consciousness among the Ukrainian peasants and soldiers.[210] The Bolsheviks therefore were reinforced, mistakenly, in their convictions that the Ukrainian national forces and Ukrainian national consciousness were insignificant, temporary phenomenon which existed only due to the activities of a handful of intellectuals. Thus, the Bolsheviks overrated their own nationalism.[211]

Earlier, when the Central Rada was fighting with the Provisional Government over its powers in Ukraine, everyone, including the Bolsheviks, were suprised at the extent of support that the Central Rada had among the population. That is why, explains Vynnychenko, the Bolsheviks gave their support to the idea of the "right of nations to independence -- up to separation."[212] He continues:

> That is why, in the beginning, they [the Bolsheviks]

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[209] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2.** (Vienna, 1920): 259-60.

[210] Ibid., p. 261.

[211] Ibid., p. 262, 268.

[212] Ibid., p. 262-3.

> fabricated Ukrainian statehood [in the form of] the Kharkiv Soviet Government, also called the 'Secretariat' -- though 'Peoples' not 'General'... All this... was only a tactic, at most a dry, intellectual principle... In all the Bolshevik literature, both leading up to the revolution and during it, the national question was considered either reluctantly, with a somewhat insulting condescension, or else with an abhorence or even with a supposed sympathy and justness, yet, dryly, cooly, formally.[213]

What was lacking, was a

> sincere, profound, fervent conviction, the kind there existed, for example, concerning questions on the tasks of the revolution, the form of power, where that conviction was active, productive and where it strove for immediate, complete... consistent realization, transposition into life. All of Bolshevisms' activity around the national question exhausted itself on presenting resolutions.[214]

According to Vynnychenko, this was the attitude of the Bolsheviks before the Central Rada began losing its popular support. But by December 1917, the peasants in Ukraine had become so disillusioned with the Ukrainian government that the Bolsheviks felt confident in winning a military conflict, and invaded Ukraine.

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[213] Ibid., p. 263-4.

[214] Ibid., p. 264.

The Bolsheviks' calculations however, were erroneous due to the actual nature of the Ukrainian peasants' attitudes. Though the peasants were disgusted and angry with the Central Rada and its policies, though they ridiculed things Ukrainian as a result of a feeling of being betrayed, the Ukrainian peasant thereby **did not** reveal a lack of **national** consciousness, but rather, a lack of a **class** consciousness. The Bolsheviks, however, misinterpretted the peasants' attitude and totally disregarded the national feelings of the peasants during their occupation of Ukraine in 1917-1918. As Vynnychenko declared:

> They [the Bolsheviks] did not even think... about that strange phenomenon where those same soldier masses, who just recently burned with national feeling, who would not submit, for anything, to their agitation... suddenly, somehow and for some reason lost their strong feeling, and to such an extent that they became filled with hatred... It did not even enter the heads of the Bolshevik politicians that great hatred frequently results from great love and that building ones politics on **this** kind of hatred is the same as building a home on a volcano which appears extinguished. The leaders of the Bolshevik movement in Ukraine vastly underrated the strength of national consciousness in

> the Ukrainian masses and vastly overrated.. their own national feeling.[215]

This criticism of the Bolsheviks is one of the most recurring themes to be found in Vynnychenko's works.

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[215] Ibid., p. 262-2.

7. PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY OR SOVIET DEMOCRACY?

Central to an examination of the political views of Vynnychenko, is an examination of the divergence of opinions on working with the Bolsheviks, on Soviet power, and on socialist revolution within the Central Rada and the Directory. The inter-Ukrainian disputes shaped the attitudes of whole layers of Ukrainian peasants and workers to the various political parties and influenced the fate of various political and military battles. The most important divergence of views among Ukrainian socialist parties involved the form of power which a state should take in Ukraine during the Ukrainian Revolution. By examining the arguments which took shape over this debate, we will, hopefully, see the extent to which cooperation between Ukrainian socialists and Russian socialists was possible, and the extent to which such cooperation was seen as being harmful.

In the Ukrainian Revolution, with the coming and going of several *forms* of governments -- parliamentary (the Central Rada), monarchist (Hetman Skoropadskyi's government), and dictatorships (Petliura's government, the Bolsheviks' government), the Ukrainian peasants became *revolutionary* in the sense that they would no longer stand for any force that would attempt to hide an old content (repressive laws, the introduction of inconsequential reforms, the sabotaging of agrarian reforms, etc.) behind new slogans, names, etc. Isaac Mazepa's comment that the SR and SD rebel groups in Ukraine in 1919 ended up quarrelling not over basic political differences but over differences in terms and names refers to this phenomenon, even though Mazepa missed the point of the disputes between the various SD and SR tendencies:

> Social democracts were of the opinion that the success of... the liberation struggle depended not on that or other *form* of power, as testified to by the history of the national struggles in Poland, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, etc., but mainly on the *actual state of the organized Ukrainian forces.* Among the rebels there existed numerous elements -- 'pro-democratic'[216] and those for the Soviet election formula.[217] But the task of the Ukrainian government lay in actually uniting the revolutionary forces of Ukraine, notwithstanding these political differences, which in reality were [differences] in *terminology and names.*[218]

It was certainly true that the state of one's forces -- the social base which a leadership had, was important in carrying on a liberation struggle. The argument between the

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[216] That is, those recognizing the "p'iatychlenna formula" or an election formula based on five elements: general, equal, direct, secret and proportional, right of vote. Ibid.

[217] It had none of the elements of the "p'iatychlenna formula". Workers were usually given ten times the representation given to peasants.

[218] Isaac Mazepa, **V ohni i buri revoliutsii**. Vol 2. (Munich, 1951?): 42. Author's emphasis throughout.

SDs and SRs however, was not over whether to rely on one's own forces or not, but over the social content of the government's program. Mazepa failed to unravel the various contentious points among the various political tendencies. First, it was important to realize that the failure of the Central Rada and the Directory to take decisive steps against the power of the landowners, financiers and the industrialists in Ukraine led to the radicalization of Ukrainian peasants and workers and to the rise of Bolshevism in Ukraine. But the Central Rada and the Directory moved not in the direction of limiting the rights and privileges of the ruling circles, but in the direction of granting them further concessions in conducting their political work. The whole issue of the type of *election formula* to be used involved the question of whether to disinfranchise certain sectors of the population and give workers a greater weight in the voting, or to allow the continued representation of propertied and business interests in the country's government. Below, we will examine some of the reasons why the leaders of Ukrainian Democracy were unable to accept the Bolshevik formula of transfering all power to the Soviets which were dominated by Russian and Russified workers who were hostile to the national demands of the Ukrainians. But, if parliamentarianism continued in Ukraine, no wide-reaching economic reforms were possible. It was over these series of questions that Ukrainian SD'ers and Ukrainian SR's split several times during 1917-1919. First, there was the question of the *social content* of a governments' policies. To whom, and how much, land would be given. Then, came the question of the political form of the government and its method of formation, whether this would be done democratically or by dictatorial methods. Concerning the first point, if all resources, land, factories, etc., were to be nationalised and placed under the control of local councils, this would signify that a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in the classic sense characterized that social system -- just as private ownership of capital signifies the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This question is completely different from the question of the *political form* by which either type of system is established and maintained. Whether it is a dictatorship of the proletariat or of the bourgeoisie, the free, equal, direct and proportional representation of voters is theoretically possible. Similarly, a dictatorial form of government is possible under both social systems. When the question of choosing the election formula came up for discussion in the ranks of the USDRP and the UPSR it merely hid the question of whether to accept parliamentary democracy or workers' and peasants' councils as the basis for governmental rule. Ukrainian socialists were unable to agree on the formula because the experience of the Central Rada (and the Provisional Government) with parliamentary democracy revealed that it was incapable of meeting the socio-economic and national demands of the people. On the other hand, the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine alienated so many people, that taking up a soviet platform, as demanded by the Bolsheviks, was unacceptable to the middle class and many intellectuals. Just before the overthrow of the Hetman, while being held up in Fastiv in November 1918 before marching to Vynnytsia and then to Kiev, Vynnychenko raised the question of the Directory taking up a platform in support for workers' and peasants' councils.[219] By doing this, he argued, the Directory would take a clear position on the road to socialist revolution and thereby attract the village and city proletariat to its side.

> Taking up a position on the basis of the Soviet system, we would thereby neutralize the Russian Bolsheviks from coming out against us and attempting to take power. At the same time, this would immediately put an end to the hostility and bickering in the anti-Hetman camp which was spasmodically appearing and harboured nothing good for us. Especially considering that in Katerynoslav province the old Soviet government of Piatakov reappeared and carried on its anti-Directory agitation.[220]

However, Petliura and other members of the Directory rejected his proposal.[221] Although the Directory had a social program of giving the land to the peasantry, introduction of the eight-hour working day, defense of trade union rights, etc., the sabotage of the Directory's activities by Ukrainian anti-socialists and by the Bolsheviks, alienated wide layers of the population. What was needed, to win back the people after having experienced the inactivity of the Central Rada, were decisive, drastic socio-economic reforms, an end to political and economic concessions to the Entente, and peace with the Bolsheviks. Most importantly, the introduction of labour councils as the basis of socio-economic and political rule in Ukraine would have neutralized Bolshevik propaganda against the Directory. Only this could give the Directory the social support to carry out the business of national-political construction. Vynnychenko argued exactly these points on the eve of the second Bolshevik invasion in 1919:

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[219] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii** (Vienna, 1920): 134.

[220] Ibid., p. 134-5.

[221] Ibid. p. 136-7.

> The introduction of Soviet power on the initiative of the Directory itself could have allowed it to construct it [Soviet power] according to those principles which would fully safeguard its national Ukrainian character and in this way the matter of our national rebirth and our statehood... would not have sufferred.[222]

To become more red than the Bolsheviks -- that was the only way to defeat them and that was Vynnychenko's proposition.

With this decisive step on the path of social

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[222] Ibid., p. 135.

> revolution we... would have placed the Ukrainian national-statehood idea on the same condition of struggle with the Russian idea in Ukraine. The Bolsheviks, in the previous struggle with us, defeated us *nationaly* because they had far greater weapons than we -- they had social slogans. Our strength was unequal to theirs. Therefore, now, when we wanted to defeat them *nationaly*, we should have armed ourselves in the same way as they were armed. Then, let them come out against us as Russian nationalists. Let them agitate among our people... they would have had no success.[223]

But Vynnychenko's call for accepting the Soviet platform was rejected. The main reason hinged on the familiar one concerning the national makeup of the urban workers being predominantly non-Ukrainian. The Soviets in the main cities would have predominance and this would entail the predominance of non-Ukrainians.[224] Since common ground on the form of government was absent, Vynnychenko searched for a compromise solution. He found a way out of this problem. The solution to this problem, testified Vynnychenko, was in accepting the concept of the "trudovyi pryntsyp" [the labour principle]. It was at the Sixth Congress of the USDRP in Kiev that Vynnychenko revealed his determination to go with the wishes of a plurality of members. This congress, which began on 9 January 1919, saw Vynnychenko speak in favour of the 5-point election program, and against the Soviet platform. He did this with the understanding that their platform was in favour of the rule of all the labouring people. The right to vote was not restricted to, nor did it favour the proletariat and the poor peasants (as it existed under Bolshevik rule), but gave equal representation to all labouring people.[225] This was the only possible compromise among the Social Democrats and the Socialist Revolutionaries:

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[223] Ibid., p. 135-6.

[224] Other reasons why Vynnychenko's proposition was rejected concerned the fact that most Directory members still had illusions that the Entente would help them with military and other aid. Therefore they did not wish to spoil their chances by being called Bolsheviks. Besides, they argued, "there was no need to worry about Bolshevism... the masses do not want anything to do with it." Events soon proved them seriously wrong.

> Because Bolshevism was seen, on the one hand, as a purely proletarian movement, and on the other, as a Russian one... -- this... did not permit us to advance the slogan in favour of Soviet Power and to lead our peasants and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. The labour principle appeared as that middle ground, which allowed these elements to come nearer to the truly revolutionary and socialist reconstruction of our society.[226]

Although a compromise solution was found which could unite the major Ukrainian forces in their efforts for national and social construction in Ukraine, fringe elements on the left and the right of Ukrainian Social Democracy sabotaged their plans.

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[225] See Isaak Mazepa, **Ukraina v ohni i buri revoliutsii**. Vol. 1. (Munich, 1952): 125.

[226] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 392.

On the one hand, right-wing Ukrainians compromised the Ukrainian government in the eyes of Ukrainians by making major economic and political concessions, first to the Germans, and then to the French. On the other hand, the provocations of Ukrainian Bolsheviks, and the troop movements along the Ukrainian-Russian border, pushed whole layers of the Ukrainian population to the right. Such were the enduring problems which Vynnychenko was constantly called on to find solutions to during his state-building period from 1917-1920.

8. VYNNYCHENKO AND THE DIRECTORY: A PERIOD OF DISILLUSIONMENT

In this section we shall examine "that most controversial, most condemned and least studied period in Vynnychenko's biography"[227] -- his role as head of the Directory, his resignation from the Directory, and his attempt to negotiate with Moscow in the summer of 1920.

Vynnychenko's most important major political and historical study was **Vidrodzhennia natsii**.[228] Published in an edition of 15,000 copies, massive by the standards of the day, it was written at a time of revolutionary upheavals throughout Europe. Hungary had experienced such a revolutionary upsurge which had led to the establishment of a Soviet republic there. Being involved in talks with the major leaders of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Vynnychenko carefully studied their experiences and could compare his own experiences with those of Bela Kun's.

The crushing of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, (due to the mistakes of the Hungarian communists, with the help of Rumanian and Czech forces, backed by the Entente) and the installation of a right-wing dictatorship, were all predicted and witnessed by Vynnychenko in 1919.[229]

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[227] H. Kostiuk, "Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho ostannii roman," in **Volodymyr Vynnychenko: 'Slovo za toboiu Staline'** (New York, 1971): 30.

[228] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii**. 3 vols. (Vienna, 1920).

[229] See V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by H. Kostiuk. Vol. 1. (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 364-5.

Vynnychenko's dealings with the Entente, as well as his understanding of the nature of power, permitted him to make immediate, accurate predictions on the political consequences of various military, economic and political alliances and actions. Whereas until the German occupation of Ukraine, his political calculations were motivated by a prime interest in achieving the national security of Ukrainians in terms of culture, language, and identity, after this time, however, he began to finally recognize the connection between the *economic* interests of the majority of Ukrainians (land for the peasants, workers' rights, etc.) and the struggle to safeguard their *nationality*. He realized that it would be naive to think that Germany, France, the United States or Poland would support Ukrainian independence. Moreover, a foreign occupation would discredit the very idea of *Ukrainianism* in the eyes of Ukrainian peasants. In 1919, when Vynnychenko saw the leaders of the USDRP ("unelected by anyone") wearing out the carpets in the waiting-rooms of the leaders of the Entente and bargaining away the rights of millions of Ukrainians.[230] Vynnychenko understood the futility of achieving (temporary) political power on the point of foreign bayonets. He went further, and grasped the fundamental political point that any kind of alliance (which Ukrainians made) that negated the economic interests of Ukrainian peasants would destroy what little national Ukrainian consciousness remained among the peasantry.

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[230] See for example V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 359, 361-3, 365, 368.

> ...[Western Ukraine's] alliance with Denikin is a direct attack on the very existence of the Ukrainian nation. It is nothing less than a crime against the development of the national consciousness of our people... it will destroy any faith the masses had in the Ukrainian government and... in Ukrainianism, to the Ukrainian idea, because such is our fate that our government appears at the same time as the representative of everything Ukrainian, of the Ukrainian idea. We have not yet reached that level of maturity where the masses could distinguish one Ukrainian from another. We must carry the responsibility of all for one and one for all. That is why even the *government* and every Ukrainian making a public pronouncement, should remember, that... in one way or another, he is speaking for all [Ukrainians]... An alliance with Denikin will compromise not only [the government] but the whole Ukrainian idea... it will destroy any sympathy in the people for their own nationality. Because... this nationality, in the form of its representative, the Ukrainian government, will bring the masses reaction...[231]

To understand Vynnychenko's speeches and his writings on various political events, we should remember that he did not hold grudges against his political opponents for their political mistakes. He certainly did not refrain from criticising the mistakes being made by them in the present period -- as his attacks on Petliura, Hrushevsky and Rakovskyi throughout 1918-20 reveal. This character trait of his, combined with his belief that every Ukrainian carried a responsibility for the actions of every other Ukrainian[232] gave to Vynnychenko the nature of being able to forgive the political mistakes of others in his calculations of further political actions. It gave to Vynnychenko the ability to forgive such fundamental mistakes as the calling of the Kaiser's army to Ukraine,[233] as well as inviting the Bolshevik Red Army into Ukraine by the Ukrainian communists. Vynnychenko's comments on the dangers of alienating the masses from their own nationality revealed not only a deep-rooted commitment to the Ukrainian nation. His understanding that a program of national liberation without a social content was fictitious, was based on his experience of struggling to achieve the former while being the Prime Minister and then President of the UNR from 1917-1919. A social content is important because without it the social base (the peasantry) will disappear. As one writer explained in 1951:

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[231] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 369-70.

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[232] Volodymyr Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 369-70.

[233] When the Central Rada met in Kiev after the German army pushed out the Bolsheviks in 1918, Vynnychenko came out of hiding in southern Ukraine and spoke to the Rada members. As the leader of the Ukrainian government, he admitted to being responsible for this grave political mistake -- even though he had no part in calling in the German army. See V. Vynnychenko, "Dopovid na ostannomu zasidannaniu ukrainskoi tsentralnoi rady," Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 2. (New York, 1969): 171-3.

> Vynnychenko understood that without satisfying the social demands of the people, the national revolution will be not only incomplete, but also unrealizable... Because for the broad masses of every nation, the concept of an independent state which is not filled with a social content, will always be an empty phrase. How is the mass of Ukrainian people to follow the leaders and support an independent state, if that state does not introduce any changes in their neglected situation? And, from a different perspective, introducing social equality is unthinkable in a country which remains nationally oppressed. These positions always remained the basic political conceptions of Vynnychenko. After the defeat of our revolution, when the reaction raised a ruckuss about socialists drowning the revolution by parcelling out the land, Vynnychenko always argued the opposite: the Bolsheviks defeated the Ukrainian socialists because they [the Bolsheviks] divided up the land and satisfied the social demands of the masses earlier and more radically than did they...[234]

Thirty-three years earlier, just after Hetman Skoropadskyi's overthrow of the Central Rada with the help of the German armies, on 28 April 1918, the following lines were written by an annonymous reviewer:

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[234] "Volodymyr Vynnychenko," **Vpered** (1951): 2.

> Without a certain social content [in one's political program], the Ukrainian state will not have the strength to live; without a base in the people, it will die at the hands of the enemies of our nationality. Ukraine can only exist as a state in that form which is created by the Ukrainian people, only then will it be able to live and think about its future. That is why leading Ukrainian circles could not follow the path of social compromise... the matter concerned the very existence of the Ukrainian state, whether to build it on sand or on rock...[235]

These warnings remained unheeded by most members of the new government of Ukraine which was set up after the Hetman was overthrown -- the Directory. The leader of the Directory, its president, Vynnychenko, was unfortunately unable to use his new post to rebuild a base in the people. On the one hand, such objective circumstances as centuries of mass illiteracy, poverty, hunger and economic misdevelopment all demanded years of economic and political reconstruction. On the other hand, the invasion of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks within weeks of the Directory's taking power in Kiev destroyed any chance the Ukrainian socialist leaders ever had of building an independent socialist Ukraine.

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[235] K.H. "Z suchasnoi politychnoi literatury," **Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk** (Apr-June 1918): 176.

When we read about the wavering of the Central Rada and the Directory on social issues, on the question of organizing the state administration, and, on the lack of any control of the state apparatus, we come to understand some of the contributing factors in the downfall of these regimes. No one knew them better than Vynnychenko. Vynnychenko's greatest political mistake involved his tolerance of right-wing elements in the Directory. Whereas in 1917 he had no other choice but to avoid antagonizing small landowners, merchants and factory owners, whose passive acquiesence the Central Rada needed in order to consolidate itself, by 1919 there was little excuse for tolerating the hostile, and destructive activities of the various otamany and small right-wing parties such as the Khliboroby-Demokraty. To this day, many historians[236] continue to deny the fact of the Directory's anti-labour actions from the moment it took power in Kiev in the fall of 1918. The numerous mass shootings, the black-mailing of minorities (especially Jews) to make financial contributions in exchange for being left alone -- undermined the Directory's stature in the eyes of the population.[237] These activities laid the basis for continued peasant rebellions and the bolshevization of workers and peasants.[238] Even Vynnychenko did not hesitate to criticise his role in the Directory. When the Polish troops, with backing from the Entente took the Stryi river in May 1919, Vynnychenko re-examined his past two years and bitterly wrote:

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[236] See, for example, Matvii Stakhiv, **Druha sovietska respublika v Ukraini** (New York-Detroit, 1957): 29.

[237] See **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine et l'assasinat de Simon Petlura a Paris, 1917-1921-1926** (Paris, 1927); **Les pogromes en Ukraine sous les gouvernement ukrainiens, 1917-1920** (Paris, 1927); and Symon Petliura, "Nakaz do Zaporizhskii Kozatskii Brygadi Ukr. Resp. Viiska," in Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia** Vol. 4. (New York, 1969): 105-6. For the involvement of Directory troops on attacks on trade union offices, see "Povstanie i rozvytok radianskoi vlady na Ukraini," **Holos pratsi** 7 [i.e. 8] (Nov 1922): 7-11.

> I must finally declare that I have paid dearly for that "creative legend" of our statehood. Much too dearly... I threw out my beliefs, my political, moral honour, my pride and dignity, my independence and freedom in sacrifice to this cruel god. Throughout the two years of our revolution I put myself down, spat in my own face, betrayed myself, destroyed that which until then I believed was just and worthy of fighting for. From childhood I hated papacy, religious intoxicants, its lazy leaches, propagators and defenders of all sorts of violence -- all my life I fought against them, dreaming of that time when finally these repressors of 'turbulent explorers' could be grabed by the throat -- when this moment came, I, together with the Petliura's and the priests... with "holy" water annointed the bowed heads of these ever-drugged, ever-fooled, ever-repressed "little brothers" of mine.[239]

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[238] See **Z istorii borotby za vstanovlennia radianskoi vlady na Ukraini** (Kiev, 1957).

[239] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk**. Vol. 1. Edited by H.

Such self-criticism Vynnychenko publicly declared on several occasions. The best examples are found in his **Vidrodzhennia natsii.**[240]

When we look at Vynnychenko's participation in the Directory, several extremely important aspects stand out. First, the whole question of Vynnychenko's leadership of the Directory. As the leader of the uprising against the Hetman, no one was equal to Vynnychenko in Ukraine in public stature and political acumen. This was a time when Vynnychenko the people's tribune stood in the center of every major political struggle of the Ukrainian Revolution. In addition, as the fate of Ukraine was being decided at this time, so too was the fate of the revolution in the West. The attention of socialists everywhere was centered on the events occuring in the former Russian empire. The success of the uprising against the Hetman certainly had such favourable objective factors as:

1. the rising revolutionary tide throughout the world -- especially in Germany;
2. the reactionary policies of the Hetman regime; and
3. the politicization, after four years of war and intermittent freedom, of large layers of the population.

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[239] (cont'd) Kostiuk. (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 352-3.

[240] Reading through all these self-criticisms, we find a thin thread of criticism of the Bolsheviks. Neither foreign intervention, nor betrayal by fellow Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries (not to mention the Socialist Federalists and the Khliboroby-Samostiinyky) nor natural calamities (plague, hunger, draught) are ever called on to take as much responsibility for the right-wing course of the Directory as are the Bolsheviks.

But Vynnychenko's leadership was the major catalyst in attracting wide layers of the population to revolutionary activity, thus changing the balance of forces, on a world scale, in favour of Soviet Russia and the international workers' movement. It was truly a lucky stroke for Ukrainian Social Democracy that the united front of the Ukrainian National Front (Ukrainskyi natsionalnyi soiuz -- UNS) began the uprising, when it did (the night of 14 November 1918). At this very moment, various delegations of top tsarist military leaders were in Jasy concluding an agreement with the Entente powers on a plan of action on taking power from the Hetman, and beginning their all-out attack on Soviet Russia.[241]

Having taken state power once more into his hands, however, Vynnychenko failed to hold on to the initiative to direct the activity of the masses towards the establishment of a Ukrainian national state and a new equitable social order. Such a move would have quickly put an end to the presence of the Entente in Ukraine and would have nipped in the bud the various tsarist-led army units that were beginning to consolidate their forces in Ukraine. This would also have radicalized the centrist elements in the UPSR and the USDRP and marginalized their right-wing elements. This process, in turn, would have set off a similar development in neighbouring countries -- just as the Russian revolution of 1917 had done. But several intervening factors contributed to an opposite reaction. Vynnychenko's inactivity around, and even passive support of Petliura's, Shvets' and Andrienko's initiatives in military and diplomatic and agrarian policy areas sowed confusion, then hostility among the revolutionized workers, peasants and centrist party members. It also gave amunition to the chauvinist, *centralist* elements in revolutionary parties in Russia and elsewhere. What was said of Petliura[242] could now be as well applied to the rest of Ukrainian Social Democracy. Vynnychenko's lack of strength of will, decisiveness, brutality, revealed themselves in his head-in-the-ground attitude to the massive arrest of socialists, censorship, secret agreements with the Entente, the disarming of workers, and the dispersal of peasants and workers' conferences by the Directory's troops.

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[241] See especially Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 3. (New York, 1969): 125-6.

When news of the massive pogroms occuring throughout Ukraine began to surface, Vynnychenko met with several delegations and assured them that steps were being taken to keep order in the country.[243] "The chairman of the General Secretariat called Ukraine 'an oasis of order'. But today we received 214 telegrams about pogroms in one day in 3 provinces..." These words, spoken by a member of the Central Rada (D. Lipets), were answered with a speech by Vynnychenko in which he defended his government and blamed the Bolsheviks for the pogroms.[244] Although there are several documents which reveal that Vynnychenko and other members of the Directory made statements against the occurence of pogroms[245], it is clear that the Ukrainian political leaders dragged their feet on the matter. Even Vynnychenko seemed at a loss as to what concrete actions to take to put an end to the pogroms. When pressed on the matter, Vynnychenko has been quoted as saying that even if the details of the pogroms are true, the peasants and soldiers cannot be blamed since many of the Bolsheviks are Jews, or else, the Jews have not come out clearly in defense of Ukrainian statehood.[246] Yet, there is evidence that when the extent and the intensity of the pogroms increased dramatically beginning in December 1919, Vynnychenko's decision to resign from the Directory was partly motivated by this. There is evidence that Vynnychenko was always sensitive to the cultural and language rights of oppressed national groups.[247] A major reason, however, for Vynnychenko's resignation, was his loss of hope in defending Ukraine from the growing forces of the Ukrainian counterrevolution which were growing due to the Russian chauvinist agitation of the Ukrainian communists headed by Piatakov and the advancing Red Army. Because Vynnychenko had conducted peace talks with Manuilskyi and had received assurances from the Bolsheviks that Ukrainians would have nothing to fear from Soviet Russia,[248] the onslaught of the Red Army put an end to Vynnychenko's hopes for directing the Ukrainian Revolution in a leftward direction. When his fellow ministers in the Directory proposed that the help of the Entente be enlisted to defend Ukraine, Vynnychenko offered to resign to accomodate an agreement (only for the purchase of arms) between the Entente and Ukraine.[249] Thus, when Colonel Freydenberg demanded of the representatives of the Directory[250] that the head of the Directory, V. Vynnychenko, and the head of the Council of People's Ministers, V. Chekhivskyi, be "thrown out like dogs" (chasser comme les chiens)[251] because they were Bolsheviks, and that S. Petliura be removed because of his "banditism," moderate Ukrainian Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries agreed to these demands.[252] In addition, a demand was made of Vynnychenko that he leave the country.[253] Vynnychenko's resignation from the Directory was followed by his emigration to Vienna where a new phase in his political evolution began. It was here, in Vienna, that Vynnychenko developed his views on world revolution and cooperation with the Bolsheviks. It was here too, that Vynnychenko finally broke with Ukrainian Social Democracy and, together with Volodymyr Levynskyi, formed the Foreign Delegation of the independentist Ukrainian Communist Party (UKP) with its organ **Nova doba** [New Era].

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[242] "The Petliura 'army' is powerless and insignificant. Its soldiers are deserting to our side. It constitutes no barrier against the Anglo-French expedition. In the event of any serious Anglo-French threat Petliura is capable of betraying everyone and everything and rushing into their arms." (L. Trotsky, Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council of the Republic in a telegram of January 4 1919 to the Council of Defence, in **The Trotsky Papers, 1917-1922.** Edited and annotated by Jan M. Meijer. (London-Paris, 1964). Petliura revealed himself to all his enemies for what he was -- a nationalist that would break any and all alliances in order to insure an independent Ukraine. The Bolsheviks clearly saw this, even if they did underestimate his military strength. See Isaak Mazepa, **V ohni i buri revoliutsii** (Munich, 1951).

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[243] See D. Lipets, "Dopovid na osmii sesii tsentralnoi rady pro pohromy," in **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by V. Manilov. (Kiev, 1928): 449; **Les pogromes en Ukraine sous les gouvernement ukrainiens, 1917-1920** (Paris, 1927); and Ukrainska Sotsial-Demokratychna Robitnycha Partiia, "Dokumenty sotsiializmu: Ukraina: 1. Rezoliutsii Ts.K. U.S.D.R.P. ukhvaleni 24-ho veresnia 1920 r," **Vilna Ukraina** 1 (1921).

[244] "Dopovid na zasidannia osmoi sesii tsentralnoi rady," (16 Dec 1917) in **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. (Kharkiv, 1928): 450. ["Yes, an oasis of order, in comparison with Russia... Our Bolsheviks are different... progroms are due to the Bolsheviks..."]

[245] See "Appel du Directoire de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne au peuple Ukrainien, du 11 Janvier 1919," in **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine** (Paris, 1927): 29-30; V. Vynnychenko, "Circulaire (no. 1679) contre la campagne en faveur des pogromes," in **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine** (Paris, 1927): 3-4; V. Vynnychenko, "Vidpovid Sorokinomu pro pohromy," in **1917 god na Kievshchine** (Kharkiv, 1928), 453. ["All measures are taken to assign troops to put an end to pogroms."]; and V. Vynnychenko, "Interpellation juive au petit Conseil (deposee le 19 decembre 1917 par N. Syrkine...) in **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine** (Paris, 1927): 238-9.

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[246] Ibid. In fact, Vynnychenko argues that it was Petliura who spoke these words. See V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii**. Vol 3. (Vienna, 1920): 187, 367-75.

[247] See V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3.** (Vienna, 1920): 239, 264-5, and his **Shchodennyk: Tom 3.** (Edmonton, forthcoming.)

[248] V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3.** (Vienna, 1920): 191.

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[249] Ibid., p. 262.

[250] I. Mazepa, S. Bachynsky, M. Grekov, and S. Ostapenko. See V. Vynnychenko, **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3.** (Vienna, 1920): 259.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Ibid., p. 264.

[253] Ibid.

Vynnychenko's experience with the Directory left him with a deep-rooted hostility to those members of the Directory who stayed in the USDRP. In Vienna Vynnychenko took up that political position from which he perceived he could best combat the Bolsheviks -- as a Ukrainian Communist. But, it was from a reaction to the pogroms, the anti-worker actions of the Directory and the deals with Denikin and Poland which moved Vynnychenko to support the Third International.

Vynnychenko wrote his most laudatory article on the Bolsheviks at this time.[254] In this article, Vynnychenko went out of his way to explain the anti-Ukrainian actions of the Bolsheviks by reference to their fanatical dedication to world revolution. This is understandable, considering Vynnychenko's disgust with his participation in the Directory and his disillusionment with the USDRP. Vynnychenko, in order to live up to his philosophy of 'honesty with oneself', had to go through a period of penitence in order to clear his conscience. He did this by sincerely declaring his dedication to world revolution, and attempted to incorporate into his political analysis the materialist method of analysis. His "Ukrainska derzhavnist" was probably the first of his few political tracts which refered to the underlining economic motives of his enemies' actions. He posited that "the Russian communists... are just as nationalistic, chauvinistic and imperialistic as their own bourgeoisie."[255]

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[254] V. Vynnychenko, **Ukrainska derzhavnist** (Vienna-Kiev, 1920).

He continued,

> this is a serious charge; it is supported by facts... That the national feelings of the Russian part [of Russified Ukrainian communists] pulls them to their native Russia, that the centuries-old feeling of a ruling nation which was ingrained in the psyche of these people, has left deep scars, this is understandable; that this feeling makes the Russian proletariat cold, apathetic, and sometimes even hostile to the rebirth of the Ukrainian proletariat and peasantry, this appears, occassionally, quite clearly. But this phenomenon... is the result of that old, social, exploitative and repressive system which poisoned the psyche of the working masses... but the... guiding factors in peoples' activities are the material economic interests... We know that the economic crisis, the famine, all forced the Russian socialists to look to Ukraine and her products to save their population from death by famine and [to save] the revolution. This was the fundamental reason that they had to take all power into their own hands, in order to be able to get as much help from Ukraine as possible. And therefore, it is clear that the power [in Ukraine] had not a Ukrainian character, but a

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[255] Ibid., p. 13.

> Russian one, because they feared a Ukrainian government, even a socialist one. That is why... they conducted such a nationalist policy, had such a disregard for the national interests of the Ukrainian workers. Understandably, this is a huge mistake...[which] is now recognized in Russia, already noted, and is now being corrected.[256]

It is important to remember that Vynnychenko's "Lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi intelegentsii"[257] and "Ukrainska derzhavnist" were written at a time when Poland, with material backing from France, the United States and Britain, was beginning an all out offensive against the young Socialist Ukrainian Republic. This offensive had, as its goal, more than the taking back of the land from the peasants and the crushing of the people's councils. This offensive, if successful, meant the systematic destruction of the Ukrainian nation. Vynnychenko firmly believed this to be true:

> Let these people ["emigrants supportive of the Polish-Ukrainian reactionary camp"] rejoice; but they should also remember that they are rejoicing at the victory of evil, and at the great betrayal of the Ukrainian people and its national liberation... They should recall at least Galicia, that unfortunate Galicia which the Polish gentry

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[256] V. Vynnychenko, **Ukrainska derzhavnist** (Vienna-Kieva, 1920): 13-16.

[257] **Nova doba** 13 (29 May 1920): 1-2.

> methodically, consciously, systematically is destroying with diseases, concentration camps, firing squads, the totality of Ukrainian culture, the vital spirit of Ukrainian nationality...[258]

The Bolsheviks certainly tolerated Great Russian chauvinism among their ranks and committed numerous atrocities against Ukrainians during their first two invasions. But, these acts of repression against Ukrainians and the Ukrainian language were acts committed in opposition to Bolshevik theory and official policy on the national question. The Polish policies of pacification (beginning in 1920) on the other hand, rested on centuries-old traditions of oppression and received official endorsement by Polish ruling circles.[259] For this reason Vynnychenko risked everything by re-entering Ukraine in the spring of 1920 in an attempt to salvage Ukrainian statehood.

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[258] V. Vynnychenko, "Lyst do kliasovo nesvidomoi ukrainskoi intelegentsii," **Nova doba** 13 (29 May 1920): 2.

[259] See **Krivava knyha: Chastyna 1: Materiialy do polskoi invazii na ukrainskii zemli Skhidnoi Halychyny 1918-1919 roku** (Vienna, 1919) and **Krivava knyha: Chastyna 2: Ukrainska Halychyna pid okupatsieiu Polshchi v rr. 1919-1920** (Vienna, 1921).

9. SALVAGING UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD AND WORLD REVOLUTION

"Errare humanum est,
sed in errore
perseverare -- diabolieum

Vynnychenko's disastrous experience with the Directory, was followed by a period of self-imposed seclusion during which he reexamined himself and his political perspectives. This introspective behaviour was quite characteristic of Vynnychenko -- and perhaps reflected his artistic temperament.[260] But he soon reappeared with renewed vigour on the political arena. His writings which appeared after this period of enforced silence are evidence of this new energy and direction. Perhaps the best example of this is his pamphlet "Revoliutsiia v nebezbetsi" (1920).

Before we deal with this major political tract, we must turn our attention to a declaration he wrote several months earlier which also appeared after this period of silence and which seemed to herald a major political re-orientation on Vynnychenko's part.

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[260] Let us recall the hero of Vynnychenko's "Zapysna knyzhka" [The Notebook] where he has to face alone, the anger of the villagers, the stool pidgeon, the policeman and the Ukrainian landlord. Or, the lone prisoner who has to deal with the prison quards in "Malenka rysochka." Again, in "Promin sontsia" and "Student" the hero of both stories has to deal single-handedly with prison guards and soldiers. There are numerous such examples in his stories.

Vynnychenko may not have been "the first to show that the fanatical Moscovite nationalism of the Moscovite commissars [stood] in a direct relationship to the failure of communism in Russia and in Ukraine,"[261] but he was certainly the most important figure in Ukraine to hammer the point repeatedly. There is a wealth of evidence to show that this relationship was a dialectical one and has existed, at the least, from the beginning of the RCP's existence as a ruling party. An analysis of Bolsheviks' policies -- whether in the economic, political, cultural or educational spheres -- *and of their failure*, reveals the presence of a series of extensive centralizational Russificatory elements in those and other policies. The presence of these elements, in turn, contributed to the further erosion of any previous gains or achievements in economic, political and other policies.

Vynnychenko argued that a *positive, active* position must be taken by Bolshevik leaders on the question of the national liberation of oppressed nations. He saw the

> question of the national liberation of oppressed nations as a real and important question of the socialist revolution, where not only a negative attitude, but also a passive, inactive relationship to it, damages the successful development of the revolution in countries with oppressed nations.[262]

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[261] "Vynnychenko pro pokhid bolshevykiv na Ukrainu," **Svoboda** (30 March 1923).

[262] S. V. Pylypenko, "Vynnychenko i Kurakh: Dokumentalna istoriia z komentaramy S. Pylypenka." **Chervonyi shliakh**, 4-5 (1923): 119(1).

Not taking an active, leading role in the struggle for a peoples national liberation -- this was a problem common to all the Russian political parties. Vynnychenko had held this view from the days of his political involvement in the USDRP, a party which was originally formed for exactly this reason. The failure of the RSDRP to take any positive, active position in the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations of Russia was reprehensible, argued Vynnychenko.

Vynnychenko's second criticism of the Bolsheviks focused on their tendency to be influenced by temporary, superficial processes. The period under consideration (the civil war period) was still in a state of flux, of great change. Social relations, as well as organizational and legal-state relations had not yet solidified. Thus, it was impossible to make any definitive statement on the specific nature of the new social formation that had arisen in the former Russian empire. Yet, various weak tendencies and fuzzy outlines were beginning to emerge from among the multitude of competing forces. The problem of distinguishing between temporary phenomenon from young, yet lasting ones, was one which Vynnychenko was well aware of.[243] He freely gave his opinion on the Bolsheviks' lack of ability to make a distinction between the two.

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[243] Whether or not Vynnychenko was able to avoid falling victim to the danger of not distinguishing between the appearance and the reality of social phenomemon is a different question and will receive some consideration below.

In his "Declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine"[244] of 6 September 1920, written in Kharkiv when he was negotiating with Moscow on entering the Communist Party of Ukraine, Vynnychenko wrote his second most laudatory article on the politics of the Bolsheviks. Before we analyze the nature of his remarks on the politics of the Bolsheviks, it is useful to examine Vynnychenko's reasoning concerning his estimation of the socio-economic and political relations evolving in Ukraine at this time (September 1920). Because of the importance of the subject matter, and because of the rarity of the documents which are to be discussed below, it is necessary to provide extensive quotations. It is hoped that the following passages from the writings of Vynnychenko will help elucidate his most important political thoughts and actions.

Vynnychenko wrote of this period, that the new social relations had not yet engulfed the social formation in a lasting and solid way:

> The problems connected with a true, immediate estimation [of the progress of the socialist revolution] are especially complicated by those circumstances which have aligned themselves in Ukraine due to the frequent changes in power, the complicated inter-relationships between the city and the village, the historical-national relationships,

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[244] V. Vynnychenko, "Zaiava," **Nova Ukraina** 7-8 (1923): 286.

> and a whole plethora of other conditions within which the revolution is taking place and into which there has not yet solidified stable and firm forms of new social relationships. One is able merely to catch a glimpse of the emerging tendencies where there appear temporary factors which are dependent on the external or internal defence of the Soviet system, and which interfere with a correct orientation.[265]

Turning to the specific, Vynnychenko declared:

> The state of war, the strained organization of all forces in defence of the very existence of the Soviet Republic do not allow the *organic process* to take on more precise, concrete forms. That is why, due to abnormal conditions, the declared independence of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in a federative union with Soviet Russia, in some branches of state life temporarily loses its distinguishing characteristics. But, undoubtedly, as soon as the time of peaceful construction comes along, the worker-peasant Ukrainian statehood will take on concrete, precise forms...[266]

Thus, internal and external events which involved a reaction, on the part of the party leaders, to concentrate on *defending Soviet power*, complicated and disturbed the proper development of the revolution. Such distractions created false issues and supplementary problems and lead to political orientations based on temporary factors. Here, in a veiled form, there appears to be a criticism of the Bolsheviks for conducting policies based on an incorrect understanding of the correlation of social forces, which in turn are based on an incorrect appreciation of certain tendencies, occurences and facts. Vynnychenko warns, these negative tendencies which "*do not* appear as the result of the actual politics of the ruling party centre" may lay the foundation for drawing completely opposite conclusions from those he made on the basis of an analysis of *positive* tendencies.[267]

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[265] Quoted in S.V. Pylypenko, "Vynnychenko i Kurakh: Dokumentalna istoriia z komentaramy S. Pylypenka," **Chervonyi shliakh** 4-5 (1923): 119(1).

[266] Ibid., p. 119(3). Emphasis added.

> On the basis of a whole series of facts, as a result of the most extensive analysis and inspection, I can ascertain, with assured conviction, that from the side of the ruling centres of the revolution there are not only no tendencies towards the destruction of Ukrainian worker-peasant statehood, but obversely: there is a *clear tendency towards the creation and development of it*... in the sense of internal independence... Realistically estimating the invincible movement of the elemental process which is being created among the working masses of Ukraine, accurately taking into account the

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[267] Ibid., p. 119(2). Emphasis added.

> tendencies of the Ukrainian Revolution and meeting its demands half-way -- the Communist Party of Ukraine is revealing a real activity in a gradual but firm tendency towards creating Ukrainian internally-independent centres: economic, political, state, etc.[268]

Vynnychenko admited that these positive tendencies may be somewhat thwarted by "separate facts of separate individuals" of lesser or greater responsibility in the revolutionary movement, who, in their activity betray an attitude left over from the old tsarist times, who have not internalized a communist consciousness and intellect."[269] Yet, Vynnychenko concluded "that the party as an organism which steers the course of the revolution has taken a sure and clear path towards the organization of the native revolutionary and state forces of the country, is testified to by the string of facts from its activity and politics especially from the latest period."[270] Although Vynnychenko does not give specific details concerning the 'string of facts', they undoubtedly involve the change in attitude towards the culture of the Ukrainian peasants, workers, and intellectuals on the part of the ruling communist party. Vynnychenko mentioned the problem of a lack of respect and confidence which the Communist Party had among the Ukrainian peasants and workers. The RCP was not winning over the nationally conscious elements from among the peasants, workers and 'working intelligentsiia' and this fact held back the construction of a Ukrainian Soviet state. In 1919-20 Vynnychenko identified the main enemy of the Revolution as world imperialism. The center of bourgeois reaction, he believed, was not within the non-Bolshevik left-wing groups (Borotbisty, Borba, USDRP, UPSR, UKP, etc.) or the petty-bourgeois groups (UPSS, UPSF, etc.) as was argued by many Bolsheviks[271] but in the handful of rich peasants and their ideologues.[272] Vynnychenko argued that only by deepening the concrete gains achieved so far, can these working elements be successfully encouraged to participate in creative socialist construction. He delicately hinted at the negative aspects of a situation where the leading role in the revolutionary process has been monopolized by the RCP -- a role that should have already begun to include that vast reservoir of Ukrainian revolutionary national elements, if Ukrainian independence was to become a reality.[273] Vynnychenko must have been aware of, and influenced by the steps taken by the Bolsheviks at the end of 1919 on bringing in exactly these national elements. These steps concerned a resolution of the Central Committee of the RCP, "On Soviet Power in the Ukraine" (approved by the 8th All-Russian Party conference held on 2-4 December 1919) which reflected the Bolshevik's new policy towards the Ukraine on issues dealing with the national question, land, and the requisitioning of food.[274]

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[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid., p. 119(3). It may be worthwhile to remember that Vynnychenko had met and travelled with Joseph Stalin during his three-month stay in Kharkiv and Moscow.

[270] Ibid., p. 119(3).

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[271] See Mykh. Chechel, "Zvidomlennie z moiei komandirovky na Vkrainu," **Boritesia Poberete!** 9 (July-Sept 1921): 10

[272] V. Pylypenko, "Vynnychenko i Kurakh: Dokumentalna istoriia z komentaramy S. Pylypenka," **Chervonyi shliakh** 4-5 (1923): 119(3).

[273] Ibid., p. 119(4).

As Maistrenko pointed out, a significant feature of this resolution was "the barring of the urban petty-bourgeoisie (which was hostile to the Ukrainian peasantry and to Ukrainian national liberation) from work in the new Soviet administration. It was precisely this group which had provided the major support for the Bolshevik occupation of 1919."[275] Although the resolution spoke of preventing the innundation of Soviet institutions with elements of the "Ukrainian urban petty bourgeoisie,"[276] it is clear that this was only a territorial understanding of the word "Ukrainian." The vast majority of the Ukrainian urban petty bourgeoisie was made up of non-Ukrainian elements.[277] In 1897, Ukrainians formed 30.3 percent,

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[274] For the text of this resolution see Ivan Maistrenko, **Borotbism: A Chapter in the History of Ukrainian Communism** (New York, 1954): 166-9.

[275] Ibid., p. 169.

[276] Ibid., p. 168.

[277] Although he does not give a social-class break-down of the urban population of Ukraine at the end of the 19th century, Bohdan Krawchenko, in his "Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine" (Manuscript, Edmonton, 1983: 11) has this to say about the total urban population of Ukraine: "The urbanization of Ukraine which occurred in the nineteenth century proceeded largely without the participation of Ukrainians. As a

Russians formed 34.0 percent and Jews formed 27.0 percent of Ukraine's urban population.[278] In 1926, the corresponding figures were: 47.2 percent, 25.0 percent and 22.7 percent.[279] Since our discussion here is concerned with the urban petty bourgeoisie in 1920, these statistics do not accurately portray the social-class and national character of Ukraine's towns. However, they do reveal the rough proportions which existed -- proportions which lead one to appreciate the social weight of non-Ukrainian elements among the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

What is more important, is the result of the differing views about the loyalty of the various social classes in Ukraine towards Soviet power. By the time of the third invasion, the Bolsheviks had not only put an end to attacking everything Ukrainian, they now isolated two specific groups for their propaganda and military attacks -- the kulaks and the so-called "bandits." The first category embraced all rich peasants, while the second included the Makhnovists, Borotbisty, Petliurivtsi, etc. -- practically all Ukrainian political groups.[280] It seems that Vynnychenko

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[277](cont'd) consequence, with little more than five percent of their numbers living in towns, they were the least urbanized national group in their native land. In terms of this important measure of social and political mobilisation, the minorities had a decisive advantage: 38 percent of Russians and 45 percent of of Jews living in Ukraine (1897) were urban dwellers."

[278] Bohdan Krawchenko, "Social Change and National Consciousness," (Edmonton, 1983): table 1.3, page 12.

[279] Ibid., p. 80.

[280] Ivan Maistrenko, **Borotbism** (New York, 1954): 181.

had exactly this *latter* group in mind when he indirectly criticised the Bolsheviks for not allowing the participation of nationally conscious Ukrainians in the political process.

Earlier, we quoted Vynnychenko on the evident tendencies of the CPU to encourage the participation of wide layers of revolutionary national Ukrainian elements. Undoubtedly, one of the tendencies, if not the most important, which Vynnychenko perceived as laying the basis for an independent Soviet Ukraine, involved the creation of a *Ukrainian Red Army*.[281]

Another such tendency included the publication program of the CPU. These were the positive tendencies which Vynnychenko believed constituted a historic breakthrough for the Ukrainian national liberation movement and for the socialist revolution. He certainly had few illusions about the motives behind the Moscow Bolsheviks' toleration of these tendencies in Ukraine. But, caught between the onslaught of the Polish armies from the West, and the forces of the Russian Communist Party in Ukraine, Vynnychenko chose to support the national communist current in the CPU. The main such current and the last organized fraction in the CPU was headed by an old Bolshevik and member of the first Ukrainian government -- Iurii Lapchynskyi.[282] Lapchynskyi first went into opposition to the RCP in 1919 when he organized the Gomel conference of Ukrainian Bolsheviks. Then, when the Workers' Opposition (headed by Shliapnikov) was organized, Lapchynskyi joined them in protesting the Bolsheviks' centralism, bureaucratization, and the swelling of the state apparatus with party functionaries.[283] In the summer of 1920 (18 May), during the fourth All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in Kharkiv, Lapchynskyi organized a secret conference of 'federalists' with delegates from the All-Ukrainian congress attending his conference.[284] Present were: Ievhen Kasianenko, S. Kirichenko, Ivan Dalekyi, and others. The conference participants formed themselves into a fraction in opposition to the CPU's positions on the national question and inter-party relations. When the fraction was uncovered soon after, Lapchynskyi published a declaration on his decision to quit the CPU and join the UKP (of which he became a central committee member).[285] Shortly afterwards, the membership of the Bolshevik organization in

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[281] The earliest concrete step towards the creation of such an army was taken by the Borotbisty when Lisovyk, Hrudnytskyi and Kostiantyn Matiiash formed a military pact with Volin, Makhno's political advisor and with Chubenko, Makhno's adjutant. (D. Kin, **Denikinshchyna**, Leningrad, 1927 cited in Ivan Maistrenko, **Borotbism** (New York, 1954): 175). On the Ukrainian Red Army see also S. Vikul, (Stepan Litnyi) "Stanovyshche na Ukraini," **Boritesia poborete!** 5 (Dec 1920): 73; "Dohovir Vynnychenka," **Nova doba** 31 (2 Oct 1920): 6; and P. Kulynychenko, "Do revoliutsiinoi viiskovoi rady pivdenno-zakhidnoho frontu," **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 7.

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[282] P. Radchenko and K. Batyr, "Ukrainski radianski derzhavnytski kontseptsii," **Nasha borotba** 3 (1946): 56.

[283] Ibid.

[284] Ivan Maistrenko, **Istoriia komunistychnoi partii Ukrainy** (Munich, 1979): 78.

[285] Iurii Lapchynskyi, "Lyst do red. 'Chervonoho praporu'," **Nova doba** 38 (20 Nov 1920): 1-2. As a result of this article "Chervonyi prapor" was closed down.

Kobeliaky (Poltava province) joined the UKP.[286] There is evidence that Lapchynskyi's actions had a decisive influence on Vynnychenko's decision to quit the CPU and leave Ukraine.[287]

One of the best characterizations of the Russian Communist Party written at this time, appeared in an article printed in **Borotba** in 1920.[288] The author quoted a Latin phrase (which appears at the head of this chapter[289]) which aptly summarised the nature of Bolshevism in Ukraine. Not only did the Bolsheviks make major economic and political mistakes, not only did they repeat the same mistakes, but they also refused to admit to them and even justified those mistakes. We may take as an example the fact that the Central Rada's declarations on land, industry and banks were no less revolutionary than those directives given out by the Sovnarkom, yet the Bolsheviks invaded Ukraine in December 1917, thus leading to the German occupation. "The Hetman," proclaims Vynnychenko at the fourth congress of USDRP on 10-12 January 1919, "is a creation of the Russian

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[286] P. Radchenko, and K. Batyr, "Ukrainski radianski derzhavnytski kontseptsii," **Nasha borotba** 3 (1946): 56.

[287] See Vynnychenko's **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi**! where Iu. Lapchynskyi's letter was reprinted.

[288] "Pomylka bolshevykiv v ukrainskii politytsi," **Borotba** (1920). Reprinted in **Svoboda** (6 July 1920). **Borotba** was an organ of the Ukrainian SR's of which Mykhailo Hrushevsky was a leading member. He may have written this article, though it also mirrors Vynnychenko's views.

[289] "To err is human, but to fossilate in error is a devilish thing."

Bolsheviks' activity that year [1918] in Ukraine. If it wasn't for this aggression, the Central Rada, while evolving, would find the correct path to follow."[290] Similarly, when the uprising of 1918, led by Vynnychenko as head of the Ukrainian National Union[291] overthrew the Hetman and established the Directory as the central government for Ukraine, with Vynnychenko as president, the revolution deepened and Ukrainian social policies went further to the left[292] than those put forward by the Central Rada in 1917, with the Directory declaring "war on the bourgeoisie to the death."[293] Again, as during the first Bolshevik invasion, instead of the revolution taking its normal course, instead of a further politicization of the people, the second Soviet invasion of Ukraine created chaos, brought about a state of mass fear, halted the class struggle, and then turned it into a national struggle. It did more than that. It gave the first major paralyzing stroke to the international workers' movement in the West:

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[290] V. Vynnychenko, "Dopovid na shestomu kongresi USDRP," (10-12 Jan 1919) Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 4. (New York, 1969): 51-2.

[291] It should be pointed out that contrary to popular belief, Petliura had little part in organizing the uprising. Petliura was arrested by the Germans at the end of September in 1918 (Matvii Iavorskyi, **Revoliutsiia na Vkraini v ii holovnishykh etapakh** (Kharkiv, 1923): 59), and was released only two days before the uprising. It is true, that once he was released, he was brought into the UNS and led forces into Kiev. However, Petliura disobeyed orders and took his troops around Kiev and entered from the north after holding back for a few days. On entering Kiev on his white horse, he issued a "Universal" in his own name.

[292] See the various "Declarations" calling for the convening of the "Labour Congress" ["Trudovyi kongres"] in Pavlo Khrystiuk, **Ukrainska revoliutsiia** (New York, 1969).

[293] "Pomylka bolshevykiv v ukrainskii politytsi," **Svoboda** (6 July 1920).

> Exactly at the moment of the second Bolshevik invasion at the beginning of 1919, a very condusive situation for an all-European revolution had appeared. The German armies, upon which the Hetman and the Polish regencies had relied for support, were destroyed, as were the Ukrainian and Polish bourgeoisies. In Ukraine, there were already independent revolutionary forces which could deepen the social revolution. The Polish proletariat and peasantry could not accomplish revolutionary organization because these submerged classes of people were groaning under the heal of the Prussian Junkers. With the retreat of the Germans from Poland, there was as yet no Polish army. This shows that the young Ukrainian Western Republic had more than six months to resist Poland. Yet, *the Moscovite Bolsheviks sacrificed the Polish proletariat to the Polish oligarchy*, failing to support them either materially or morally. Instead of sending Bolshevik emissaries to Poland and giving military aid to the Polish proletariat, the Moscovite Sovnarkom *threw all its material and moral resources against the Ukrainian revolutionary people*. Had... the Bolsheviks turned all their forces on Poland, the political and social configuration in Europe would

> have added up differently. There was at that time, the uprising of the German proletariat, which wanted to establish a soviet system and conduct the socialization of life. In Hungary, Bela Kun's Soviet government was established. But because it had reactionary Romania and Poland on its east and north, became an oasis and had to sink in the sea of counter-revolution... Leaving Poland in peace and directing all their forces on Ukraine, the *Bolsheviks created for themselves a snake in their bosom*, allowing international reaction to make of Poland, an "outpost" against Bolshevism... Soviet Hungary would have survived, Czech and German republics would have arisen alongside the Polish and Ukrainian [ones]...[294]

In October 1920, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the first president of the UNR, also referred to the Bolsheviks' tendency to repeat their old mistakes which created many enemies of the revolution:

> The Bolsheviks just can't part with their political mistakes which destroy any basis for a broad consensus and close cooperation between the labouring Ukrainian people and the labouring Great Russian people, between the Soviet Ukrainian Republic and the Russian Soviet Republic. They are making the labouring people of Ukraine into enemies

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[294] "Pomylka bolshevykiv v ukrainski politytsi," **Svoboda** (6 July 1920).

> of the socialist revolution in its Russian-Bolshevik edition, pushing [the people] into counterrevolution. Lenin's good intentions, and Trotsky's and Chicherin's declarations remain empty words against the cruel hard facts of Bolshevik actions in Ukraine, which are carried out by all sorts of bandit and black hundred elements, which have decorated themselves under today's fashionable red communist star...[295]

Vynnychenko frequently criticised the Bolsheviks for *unnecessarily*, avoidably, creating opposition to themselves and to the idea of socialism through their use of the worst of methods.

> Being kept waiting, lied to, ignored, manipulated... all of this is not as despicable as the fact that *they are so inept at utilizing those forces [which are ready to work for them]*; that, *without any need for it*, they play the hypocrite, lie, cheat, and insult others and themselves, and even the whole idea of communism... How contemptuously do they abuse others for their lies, hypocricy and hoodwinking. But they themselves use these same methods in such excess, so contemptuously and even cynically, that it becomes laughable and saddening when one reads their words of indignation at others

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[295] M. Hrushevsky, "Mizh Moskvoiu i Varshavoiu," **Boritesia poborete!** 2 (Oct 1920): 1-18.

for [using] these same... Machiavellian methods.[296] Vynnychenko found these methods objectionable if only because they had a damaging impact on the development of the revolution.

> I can just imagine how such tactics demoralize the weak heads and spirits of the ordinary people who sincerely want to be communists, how neglecting the ethical aspect in the communist struggle transforms people into plain rogues and charlatans, how it weakens their will and makes of them plain social parasites and exploiters. The Russian revolutionaries have long marked themselves by their disdain of ethical purity. Repeatedly, they have been victims of the disorder of being split between their word and deed, of 'dishonesty with oneself'... The Bolshevik-communists have not avoided this; they have not had the strength to be ethically clean, consistent to the end, strong, and true to their aim. When life demands of them great tension, then they will replace the lack of strength to be honest with lies and Machiavelism.[297]

These thoughts of Vynnychenko were written while he was in Moscow and Kharkiv in the summer of 1920 attempting to negotiate with the RCP for the acceptance of the five basic demands of Ukrainian socialist leaders. After several months of negotiating with Stalin, Trotsky, and other Bolshevik leaders,[298] Vynnychenko became extremely disillusioned with the Russian Bolsheviks. Notwithstanding his praise of the Bolsheviks for their socio-economic policies, he could not avoid the conclusion that all the revolutions' gains in the economic field could be nullified by the Bolsheviks' methods. He declared in 1920:

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[296] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 453-4.

[297] Ibid., 454.

> The old, Russian national character of hypocrisy, brutality, unceremonious violence, the old accoustomned belief in the providential role of Russia -- all this starkly colours Moscow's politics. A belief in the strength and absolute necessity of the dictatorial fist, a belief in the all-mighty 'saviourhoodness' of bureaucracy, of the complete obedience of the masses, a belief in the notion that the Russian people can be forced to accept monarchism, communism by use of the stick... When bureaucracy rules, when discipline is enforced *only* with the ration card, punishment and shooting, when there is only the readiness to obey orders but no discipline from within nor any good will, when there is no initiative... when, in a word, the creative, constructive, organizational, and directive work is carried out solely by a small group of people which is called the Politbureau of

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[298] Lenin refused to meet with him.

> the Central Committee of the RCP... then the masses are robbed of their courage, steadfastness, and capacity for endurance. Thus, the strength of the revolution does not increase, but decreases.[299]

Vynnychenko further expanded his criticism of Russian Social Democracy in August 1920 in his letter to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.[300]

> Russian Social Democracy constantly held to the position of the organization of the proletariat along *state* lines, not *national* ones. Ukrainian Social Democracy, the Bund, and to some extent the Letts defended the principle of the national organization [of the proletariat]. At first, the second International stood on the Russian SDs position, but with time and under pressure from the parties of the stateless nations, it changed its relationships... The Third International... being under the influence of the RCP has taken the old RSDRP position on this question...[301]

Vynnychenko's idea that all communists, all workers, should be united along *national* and not *state* lines came into sharp conflict with the leadership of the RCP, the CPU and the UKP. Alongside this criticism, or rather, flowing out of the criticism of this centralism of the great-state Russian nationalists, is Vynnychenko's attacks on the Bolsheviks for the divergence of their actions from their theory.

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[299] Ibid., p. 467.

[300] V. Vynnychenko, "Lyst do Ts.K. UKP," **Nova doba** 56 (22 Oct 1921): 1-3.

[301] Ibib. p. 1.

> A significant section of the Russian socialists (today's communists) have long ago distinguished themselves by an extraordinary phenomenal ethical disharmony... an ethical slovenliness, a contradiction between their words and practice, a 'mendaciousness' and 'two-facedness' without need, [with their] methods of coercion in community relationships, a brutality -- all these are known traits of many Russian democrats and socialists today's communists.[302]

Vynnychenko's perception of the significance of *concrete* events, and of their place in the *general* movement of events, in the *tendency* of certain social forces -- in other words -- his skill at realistically assessing the correlation of different forces is dramatically revealed by the *comparative analysis of his on-going criticisms* of the Bolshevik's role in the Ukrainian and Russian revolutions with the resolutions of his ideological cohorts. Thus, an examination of the resolutions of the second All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Communist Party (UKP) held in Kharkiv from 5-9 August 1920[303] and of Vynnychenko's diary notes throughout 1920 (especially June to August[304]), or his article "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu,"[305] where he freely quoted from his diary, shows the almost complete agreement in Vynnychenko's analysis with that of the decisions of the conference participants. This was true also of the criticisms of the Bolsheviks which the Foreign Group of the UKP had put foreward in January 1921.[306] Their criticisms partly mirrored the criticisms which the Sapronov and Bubnov oppositions developed and which criticised the RCP and its regional organization in Ukraine -- the CPU -- for its peculiar social and national make-up.

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[302] Ibid., p. 2.

[303] "II konferentsiia UKP v Kharkovi." p. 3-5.

[304] See his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Edited by H. Kostiuk. (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 430-75.

> "The CPU is not an organization of the Ukrainian workers; neither by its social make-up, nor its membership, nor by its tactics... This is a party of military and bureaucratic petty-bourgeois intellectuals with an insignificant mix of Russian or Russified workers that live on the territory of Ukraine.[307]

Because the party must fill all responsible government and administrative posts in the country "the whole party must necessarily be a party of civil servants and bureaucrats. That these bureaucrats are neither urban, nor rural workers, but intellectuals, this proves conclusively for everyone to see, who was in Ukraine."[308]

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[305] **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 3-6; 41 (11 Dec 1920): 3-5; 42 (18 Dec 1920): 3-5.

[306] See V. Vynnychenko, **Ukrainska komunistychna partiia i KP(b)U," Nova doba** 4(47) (22 Jan 1921): 1-2.

[307] Ibid., p. 1.

A key element in the criticism of Bolshevik rule in Ukraine, and one which was most evident here and first received attention here, was the most powerful demand for *putting an end to the appointment of people to government and party posts* by the small elite in Moscow. The RCP's recruitment and promotion policies and methods of administration was (and continues to be) one of centralized bureaucratic control of lower bodies by higher ones, it is characterized by the successful implementation of the *centralist* aspect of "democratic centralism" -- to the actual denial of the democratic aspect. This athoritarian policy, hardly tolerable among ordinary lower bodies (regional, county, city and village committees and party cells) becomes explosively unbearable when the national oppression that accompanies this problem is superimposed on the non-Russian "lower" bodies (beginning with the Central Committee of the CPU and ending with state farm chairmen.)[309]

> The fact that the Central Committee of the CPU is not elected by this organization, but completely appointed by telephone from Moscow by the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the RCP, is

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[308] Ibid.

[309] On the Soviet leadership recruitment system see Bohdan Harasymiw, "Nomenklatura: The Soviet Communist Party's Leadership Recruitment System," **Canadian Journal of Political Science** 4 (Dec 1969): 493-512.

> the best proof of the extent of its independent existence and activity. This is the RCP's governmental apparatus in Ukraine, which, for diplomatic reasons carries the name of "party".[310]

Cooperation with the Bolsheviks, for Vynnychenko, was not a question of principle, but of tactics and strategy. He was ready to join them or begin an armed uprising against them at any time.[311] Vynnychenko understood that the struggle of the CPU for more independence within the RCP was the most important political struggle left to fight in Ukraine; that the Politbureau of the CPU was the weakest link in the centralized chain of command of the RCP. That is why, when membership in the Politbureau of the CPU was denied to him, and when his demands for national rights for Ukraine were *de facto* turned down, Vynnychenko refused the posts offered him, and left Ukraine forever.

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[310] V. Vynnychenko, "UKP i KP(b)U," **Nova doba** 47 (22 Jan 1921): 2.

[311] One interesting event that occurred during Vynnychenko's stay in Ukraine and Russia during 1920, which sheds some light on Vynnychenko the political leader and on his relationship to the UKP, concerns the little known matter of the "demonstration" planned by Vynnychenko and proposed to the Central Committee of the UKP by him. (See his "Dykhannia Moskvy: Zaiava zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskoi komunistychnoi partii," **Nova doba** 56 (22 Oct 1921): 3, for the account.) Unfortunately, Hryhorii Kostiuk makes no referece to this article nor explains what is meant by this "demonstration." (See V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 463). Briefly, it appears that Vynnychenko, being convinced that the RCP's colonial-occupational policy in Ukraine could not be changed, proposed an armed uprising throughout Ukraine, as a method of revealing, to the international socialist and workers' movement, the counter-revolutionary politics of the RCP which was leading to the failure of world revolution. Vynnychenko's proposition was not accepted by the Central Committee of the UKP (Iu. Mazurenko, Richytskyi, and Kulinychenko) and was revealed to the leaders of the CPU, thus placing Vynnychenko open to charges of treason which carried the death sentence (ibid). This certainly explains the dramatic entries in Vynnychenko's diary concerning his fear for his life as well as his belief in the justness and worthiness of his cause.

Vynnychenko's subsequent political evolution reveals his firm, principled, public opposition to the RCP and its leaders.

In 1923, at a time when the CPU was majestically beginning to advertise its achievments in the spheres of book-publishing, reconstruction of agriculture, industry, education, etc., Vynnychenko felt it opportune to press the Ukrainian communists for more results on the question of the self-activity of the Ukrainian people, of independence, of cultural development. This is best revealed in his article "Znamenna podia."[312] In this article, Vynnychenko celebrated the appearance, in Ukraine, of a journal in the Ukrainian language (**Chervonyi shliakh**) and challenged the Ukrainian communists to produce better results. He differentiated between the various groups who participated in the journal:

1. foreign communists "who live off the munificence of Moscow and ... who have the same awarness of Ukraine as they do of the landscape of Mars";
2. communists from the RCP -- "Moscow's leading managers in Ukraine";
3. communists from the CPU-- "Petty personnel for hire. Of Ukrainian nationality. Ragged towels which are used to

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[312] V. Vynnychenko, "Znamenna podia," **Nova Ukraina** 6 (1923).

wipe the feet and hands covered in Ukrainian blood, all sorts of Frunzes and Rakovskys"; and

4. a variety of Ukrainian cultural workers."[313]

About the last group Vynnychenko had this to say:

> Really, at the moment one may perceive a new phase in the history of Moscovite occupation of Ukraine, because in the matter of 'mastering' the situation, part of the non-party Ukrainian intelligentsia has been pulled in for assistance. But one does not have to be a prophet to be able to say, beforehand, with certainty, that the fate of this phase will be the same as that which befell the others: having taken advantage of the Ukrainian cultural workers, having taken from them everything possible, Moscow will dispose of them for being 'useless' and then begin another campain against 'Ukrainian chauvinism'.[314]

Vynnychenko's criticism of the Bolsheviks focused on the relm of culture. "Throughout the four-year rule of the Politbureau [of the Central Committee of the RCP] in Ukraine, everyone who is not blind, nor deaf, could become convinced that it did everything it could to suffocate Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian nationality." He adds, "...for four years it conducted its politics in such a manner that the country's whole economy was in its hands, knowing that controlling economic positions insures its rule over the political and cultural [spheres]."[315] Why then, has the RCP allowed the appearance of this Ukrainian journal? Is it because the Bolsheviks, "lying on their death beds" have remembered the socialist-communist principles asks Vynnychenko. Vynnychenko's reply represents another scathing attack on the Bolsheviks. No, he says. The RCP's ethics have nothing to do with the matter. "The ethics of the Russian 'communists' are as remote from the ethics of socialism and communism, as the ethics of Christian tsarism was to the ethics of Christianity."[316] Vynnychenko's criticisms of the Ukrainian and Russian communists were harsh. Vynnychenko's criticisms of the Bolsheviks reveal the extent to which he moved from a position of hope for reforming the repressive party-state apparatus to one of sureness in the knowledge of the extent to which the Soviet system had degenerated.

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[313] V. Vynnychenko, "Znamena podiia," **Nova Ukraina** 6 (June 1923): 8-9.

[314] Ibid., p. 22.

> The revolution [in the Soviet Union] has died down after giving a loathsome birth to a centralized bureaucratism, bonapartism and reaction. Yet, the former banners ('worker-peasant state', 'workers' democracy', 'socialist republic', 'communist party', 'soviet power', etc.) all remain. Moscovite Bolshevism must spare them, because, taking them down, it will reveal to the whole world that horrible content that it hides behind [the banners]. That is, it will condemn itself to a quick

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[315] Ibid., p. 11.

[316] Ibid.

death."[317]

By 1926, when the lines were being drawn in the historic struggle between the Joint Opposition and Stalin, and when the Central Committee of the CPU passed its first resolution calling for Ukrainianization (in April 1925[318]), Vynnychenko felt it was important to give support to this new tendency in the CPU. In 1937, defending his calls for returning to Ukraine, Vynnychenko wrote:

> In 1926, when I wrote my brochure "Povorot na Ukrainu" [Return to Ukrain], specific circumstances and conditions existed there. Then.... the Ukrainian movement in Ukraine began to bring pressure to bear on Moscow. It was possible to conduct a struggle, and to serve the interests of the collectivity productively. That is why I called on people to return to Ukraine and assist the struggle there. Until 1932... this struggle was carried on quite successfully, and I am glad that I was able to participate in this success.[319]

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[317] V. Vynnychenko, **Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front** (Prague-Berlin, 1923): 21.

[318] By 1926 the CPU had removed opponents of Ukrainianization (such as Kviring and Lebed) from leadership positions and passed a series of resolutions enforcing Ukrainianization. Russian nationalism now became the greatest danger to socialism and Mykola Khvylovyi made his first important contribution to the great "literary debate" with his "Apolohety pysaryzmu," **Kultura i pobut** 9-13 (1926). See Janusz Radziejowski, **The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1929** (Edmonton, 1983): 112.

[319] V. Vynnychenko, "Zdruhoho lysta V. Vynnychenka do predstavnyka Ukr. S.D.," **Orhanizatsiini Visty Oborony Ukrainy** 4 (Apr 1937): 5.

At this time (in 1926), Vynnychenko was able to produce a favourable balance-sheet of the gains of the Ukrainian national movement in Ukraine. When he compared the situation in Ukraine of 1926 with that of 1920 when the Ukrainian language was openly called the "Petliurite" language and when his own calls for the reorganization of the Red Army along territorial lines, as well as his demands for the concretization of formal rules and regulations for the delineation of state responsiblities between the members of the federation of Soviet republics[320] were all laughed at and called counter-revolutionary, Vynnychenko could not help but admire the progress made in the cultural and political spheres. After the twelfth congress of the RCP, no one laughed when M. Skrypnyk demanded that the Red Army be nationalized in every republic and called for the annexation of the Kursk, Voronezh and Kuban regions to Ukraine.[321] As head of the Ukrainian Soviet government in 1920, Vynnychenko could get few concessions from Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky (members of the RCP Politbureau) on questions concerning a separate budget for Ukraine, or concerning the Ukrainianization of the Soviet and party apparatuses,[322] etc. In 1926, Vynnychenko could talk at length about the numerous achievements of the Ukrainian national movement. Legislation of the Ukrainian language for use in public and party institutions, Ukrainianization of the apparatuses, book publishing, etc., -- all these develpments were concrete achievements which he welcomed. Vynnychenko was certainly careful not to overestimate the permanency of these achievements. He was quite aware that the Soviet rulers were forced to take such a direction on the national question only because of the increased strength of the Ukrainian national movement.[323] Yet, with hindsight, it appears that Vynnychenko may have been a few years too late in evaluating the importance of all the positive tendencies that were in existence in the Soviet Union during this period. We see now, that 1926 was, in many ways, the calm before the storm; it was a turning point in the fortunes of the Ukrainian national movement, of the nationally conscious Ukrainian Bolsheviks, and of the few revolutionary Russian Bolsheviks. On the other hand, it could be argued that Vynnychenko foresaw the coming storm and therefore attempted to come to the CPU's rescue in a limited way. Certainly, Vynnychenko's writings of this period were very timely, even if they did not achieve the desired result. Vynnychenko's criticisms of this period of the Bolsheviks and their activities in Ukraine again reveal a certain timeliness and sensitivity to the line-up of political forces in Ukraine. In his pamphlet "Povorot na Ukraini" we see Vynnychenko speaking of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks in a less emotional manner than was the case up to 1923. His analysis of the reasons for the failure of various Ukrainian political policies in Ukraine after the Revolution, recognized not only the subjective, internal and particular aspects of political actors. His analysis also recognized the presence of an objective aspect to these failures. These objective factors were no longer mighty uncontrollable forces to be worshiped, glorified, or mythologized, and fatalistically submitted to, but comprehensible and changeable factors. Such a dialectical analysis finally allowed Vynnychenko to feel comfortable standing alone on his own political platform. For, as long as he perceived the objective factors as being hostile, in opposition to his nations' and his own well-being, Vynnychenko always threw in his lot with those political forces that were successful -- successful, according to Vynnychenko's philosophy, because of their consistency, determination, and 'honesty with oneself'. If a political group had massive support it was only, according to Vynnychenko, because it had been able to apply its politics consistently, thus coming closest to making peace with the objective forces. This was the only possible explanation for Vynnychenko. It seems, though, that Vynnychenko was able to overcome (in his mind) the antagonisms between the subjective and objective factors of human history and begin a careful re-evaluation of Ukraine's recent past. The incorporation, by Vynnychenko, of specific objective factors into the explanation of the failures of Ukrainian and Russian social democracy allowed Vynnychenko to speak more camly of his own role and that of the Bolsheviks in the Revolution.

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[320] See V. Vynnychenko, "Dokladna zapyska Vol. Vynnychenka tsentralnomu komitetovi rosiiskoi komunistychnoi partii," **Vilna Ukraina** 1 (1921); and his "Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," **Nova doba** 34 (Oct 1920).

[321] Janusz Radziejowski, **The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1929** (Edmonton, 1983).

[322] V. Vynnychenko, **Povorot na Ukrainu** (Lviv, 1926): 16.

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[323] Ibib., p. 16-17.

One other important aspect of Vynnychenko's politics should be mentioned. Vynnychenko did not make a principle out of opposition to his political enemies. Vynnychenko was always prepared to make agreements with his political opponents if he perceived that the conditions of such agreements did not compromise his principle of furthering the national rights of his people. He stated this openly in 1937:

> I do not make any dogmas or idols out of the methods of reaching my aim (i.e. [safeguarding] the interests of the collectivity)... If Moscow again changes its nationalities policies, if it wanted to realize its declarations in practice, that is, if it would **guarantee** Ukraine its independence, a real union of **equal** state organisms, I would not make idols out of my opposition to Moscow and would consider whether or not it would be more advantageous for the Ukrainian collective to approvingly accept such a change in [the Bolsheviks'] politics.[324]

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[324] V. Vynnychenko, "Z druhoho lysta V. Vynnychenka do predstavnyka Ukr. S.D.," **Orhanizatsiini Visty Oborony Ukrainy** 4 (Apr 1937): 5.

This aspect of Vynnychenko's politics is extremely important in understanding Vynnychenko's repeated attempts to cooperate with political forces which repeatedly revealed themselves to be hostile and treacherous.

10. VYNNYCHENKO AND PARTY ORGANIZATION

Some critics of Vynnychenko, the USDRP and of the UPSR frequently complained that the major obstacle to the success of the national liberation struggle was the parties' memberships' *tendency to place party loyalty ahead of the national interest*,[325] and, the tendency to place organizational loyalty above national political considerations. However Vynnychneko was hardly ever criticised for making party loyalty a priority. This is surprising, considering his life-long participation in numerous political parties as leader and ideologue. When the question of his membership in a political party was raised, it was usually in regard to the negative aspects of the party's influence on him.[326]

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[325] For criticisms of Vynnychenko of this tendency, see "Bezholovie," **Ukrainskyi holos** 16 (21 April 1920): 4; and Dmytro Dontsov, "Orden chy partiia," in his **Khrestom i mechem: Tvory** (Toronto-London, 1967).

[326] One writer unfamiliar with him wrote: "Vynnychenko is not Shevchenko. He was not reared up by life's experiences to such an extent as Shevchenko. He was brought up by that school which had nothing national, nothing populist about it. He was reared by a parochial party, which did not speak the peoples language, which did not think its thoughts; a party which did not have in its sights the people's culture and which would by-pass the past, present and future, and had a parochial, sectarian party program. It showed the growing boy life as seen through its own party window...In such a school, his soul did not develop, but was moulded, crippled, twisted out of shape in order to fit it into the party framework." "But," continues the author, "the issue is not Vynnychenko... there are party Vynnychenkos, there are un-Vynnychenkos, there are even anti-Vynnychenkos... there are students of different parties... but their songs are not of a broad, popular nature, but of a parochial party one." See "Vmisto sposterezhen kozaka Chornokhliba: Uryvok zi statti v Kalendari Chornokhliba: Po dorozi vykhovania," **Ukrainskyi holos** (Winnipeg, 26 January 1921): 13.

Although every party has these tendencies in greater or lesser degrees, the determining element which controls the growth of such tendencies involves the particular party's theory and practice vis a vis *internal party democracy*. As a leading party member for most of his adult life, Vynnychenko was quite familiar with the functioning of parties and of the criticisms of their negative aspects. As seen in the history of Stalinist parties, it is the lack of internal party democracy, the lack of any thoroughgoing self-criticism, and an *absence of politics* (i.e. open political discussion) as the primary governing element in a party that contributed to the transformation of a vehicle of social change into its opposite -- an oligarchic bureaucratic institution. The lack of these elements in a party organization (or, for that matter, in any organization) causes organizational loyalties, organizational ties (which are free of politics) to become crucial in the formulation of organizational goals, methods and principles. Or, as one author has put it:

> Within [the Social Democratic party]... the confusion of members and sympathiser, the massive apparatus needed to hold together a mass of only half politicized members in a series of social activities, led to a toning down of political debate, a lack of political seriousness, which in turn reduced the ability of the members to make independent political evaluations, increased the

> need for apparatus-induced involvment... Ties of personal affection or of deference to established leaders become more important than scientific, political evaluations... *Refusal to relate organizational ties to political evaluations... necessarily led to organizational loyalties replacing political ones.*[327]

Almost all critics of the Bolsheviks pointed most often to this aspect of the RCP's functioning. Although the most comprehensive sociological analysis of this was carried out by Leon Trotsky, Vynnychenko touched upon this in his open letters written in 1920 and revealed it in his passage from one party to another when his political orientations changed. Vynnychenko's attacks on the Ukrainian Social Democratic leaders (Mazepa, Livytskyi, and others), as well as his complaints about the leaders of the CPU (Rakovskyi and Manuilskyi) and the RCP (Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and Radek) reveal his negative attitude to the bureaucratic centralism which encouraged the replacement of political loyalty with organizational obedience. Vynnychenko merely hints at the same problem which Leon Trotsky warned against in 1904:

> Lenin's conception of party organization must lead to a situation in which the party would "substitute itself for the working classes," act as proxy in their name and on their behalf, regardless of what

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[327]Chris Harman, "Party and Class, In **Party and Class** (London, [1968?]): 62. Emphasis added.

> the workers thought or wanted. Lenin's conception would lead to a state of affairs in which "the organization of the party substitutes itself for the party as a whole; the the Central Committee substitutes itself for the organization; and finally the 'dictator' substitutes himself for the Central Committee...
>
> The working class... will undoubtedly have in its ranks quite a few political invalids... and much ballast of obsolescent ideas, which it will have to jettison... and to purge its ranks from political phrasemongers... But this intricate task cannot be solved by placing above the proletariat a few well-picked people... or one person invested with the power to liquidate and degrade."[328]

This aspect of Trotsky's criticism of the centralism of the Bolsheviks was first outlined by Vynnychenko in his most influential political pamphlet -- "Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi" [The Revolution Endangered]. "Revoliutsiia v nebezbetsi" did not constitute any major political re-orientation on the part of Vynnychenko. The criticisms of the Bolsheviks and demands which he made in this pamphlet were made by him at least a decade earlier. This was merely the first time that he published a whole work dealing exclusively with the Bolsheviks. With this pamphlet,

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[328] Leon Trotsky, **Nashi politicheskie zadachi** (Geneva, 1904) quoted in Tony Cliff, "Trotsky on Substitutionism," In **Party and Class** (London, [1968?]): 26-7.

Vynnychenko outlined the general features of what we now refer to as the nomenclatura system of party recruitment.

> The CPU is merely a provincial organization of the RCP. The majority of the responsible leading party activists of this organization have been sent and appointed from the centre, by the Political Bureau (Politbureau) of the Central Committee of the RCP.[329] The whole Central Committee of the CPU is not elected but appointed by the central organ. In the same way the majority of the leaders of the local organizations are sent and appointed by the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the RCP...[330] The bureaucratization and militarization of the party, the irresponsibleness of responsible workers before the organizations, their uncontrollableness and dependence only on higher authorities allows all sorts of untrustworthy, unproletarian and unrevolutionary elements to

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[329] Prior to 1914 Lenin explained his attitude on this question: "Under conditions of political freedom our party will be built entirely on the elective principle. Under the autocracy this is impracticable for the collective thousands of workers that make up the party." V.I. Lenin, **Collected Works.** Vol 8, p. 196 quoted in Chris Harman, "Party and Class," in **Party and Class** (London, [1968?]): 60. Lenin failed to mention who would elect whom: lower bodies the higher ones, or vice versa.

[330] Later, at the Twelfth Congress of the RCP Preobrazhenksy would complain about the fact that "30% of the secretaries of the provincial party committees were 'recommended' for the positions by the Central Committee of the party, thus violating the principle of election of all party officials." Tony Cliff, "Trotsky on Substitutionism," in **Party and Class** (London, [1968?]): 36.

> overwhelm the party ranks. That is precisely why in Ukraine, where the principle of absolute centralism is applied most determinedly, one is able to perceive such an abnormal phenomena where a large percentage of party members are made up of petty-bourgeois elements, unfamiliar with local conditions and therefore being destructive.[331]

The Workers' Opposition[332] which emerged shortly after the publication of Vynnychenko's "Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi" came out with very similar criticisms of the Leninist current among the Bolsheviks. The Workers' Opposition fought against the system of appointments used inside the party and government. They saw this as a major source of corruption and inefficiency.

> Appointments must be permissible only as exceptions, but lately they have begun to prevail as a rule. Appointments are very characteristic of bureaucracy, and yet, at present [i.e. in 1921] they are a general, legalized and well recognized daily occurrence. The procedure of appointments produces a

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[331] V. Vynnychenko, **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi** (Vienna, 1920): 28-9. This part of his pamphlet is actually his "Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian" which first appeared in **Nova doba** 34 (23 October 1920): 3.

[332] On the Workers' Opposition see the following: Ie. Hirchak, "Partiia v borotbi z pravym ukhylom: Istorychna dovidka," **Bilshovyk Ukrainy** 23 (15 Dec 1928): 9-17; **The Origin of the Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State: First Phase, 1917-1922** (London, 1955); Chris Harman, **Party and Class: A Workers' Action Pamphlet** (Toronto, 1975); Aleksandra Kollontai, **The Workers' Opposition** (Reading, 1962); Aleksandra Kollontai, **The Workers Opposition in Russia** (Chicago, 1921).

> very unhealthy atmosphere in the party, and disrupts the relationship of equality among the members by rewarding friends and punishing enemies as well as by no less harmful practices in our party and Soviet life.[333]

Similarly, on 8 October 1923, Leon Trotsky wrote the following in a letter to the Central Committee of the RCP:

> In the fiercest moment of War Communism, the system of appointment within the Party did not have one-tenth it has now. Appointment of the secretaries of provincial committees is now the rule. That creates for the secretary a position essentially independent of the local organization... The bureaucratization of the Party apparatus has developed to unheard-of proportions by means of the method of secretarial selection.[334]

Today, after sixty years of such practices, it is clear that this system of appointments has been institutionalized and refined to such a degree that few systems of reforms can eradicate its negative aspects.[335] Of the negative aspects that arise from this system of appointments, the most devastating is the creation of an almost unbridgeable chasm between the rank and file and the leadership. As early as 1921 Kollontai pointed out that

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[333] Alexandra Kollontai, **The Workers' Opposition** (Reading, 1962): 40.

[334] Leon Trotsky, ["Letter to the Central Committee,"] in **Documents of the 1923 Opposition** (London, 1975): 2-3.

[335] There are, however, a few reforms which can threaten the stability of the whole system if allowed to follow their logical course. I refer to Khrushchev's policy change of restricting the length and duration of party officials' stay in any one position (known as "systematic renewal"). There is evidence that this was one of the most important reforms introduced by Khrushchev and which brought about his eventual demise. See Michel Tatu, **Power in the Kremlin: From**

> appointments lessen the sense of duty and responsiblity to the masses in the ranks of appointees, for they are not responsible to the masses. This condition makes the line of division between the leaders and the rank and file members still sharper. Every appointee, as a matter of fact, is beyond any control, for the leaders are not able to watch closely his activity while the masses cannot call him to account, and discharge him if necessary. As a rule every appointee is surrounded by an atmosphere of officialdom, servility, and blind subordination which infects all subordinates, and *discredits the party*. The practice of appointments rejects completely the principle of collective work; it breeds irresponsibility.[336]

The fact that the resulting chasm which is created by this system is practically unbridgeable, is supported by such examples as the recent events in Poland. The ideas of Vynnychenko which came to be considered by the UKP in Ukraine by way of the Workers' Opposition were not acceptable to the UKP because of the Workers' Opposition's

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[335](cont'd) **Krushchev to Kosygin** (New York, 1969): 433-4.

[336]A. Kollontai, **Workers' Opposition** (Reading, 1962): 40.

peculiar formulation of their demands; the Workers' Opposition, in an attempt to limit the influx of petty-bourgeois elements formulated a demand for "the expulsion from the party of all *non-proletarian* elements..." Since most Ukrainians were peasants, this demand effectively excluded their participation in the CPU.

There were other oppositionists who saw the danger of excluding the (Ukrainian) peasantry from active participation in the state and party bodies. As early as the beginning of 1920, Spiridonov was criticising the Bolsheviks for exactly this reason. Writing a year before the introduction of NEP, Spiridonov accurately portrayed the state in which the Bolsheviks found themselves. He wrote:

> To build up the well-being of one class -- the workers, the proletariat -- at the cost of the peasantry, on the bones of the victims of the present war and revolution -- will not succeed. The Bolshevik party has not yet crumbled, but is already decaying. It can neither rule, nor create anything new... Establishing socialism on the points of bayonets merely prepares the ground for a psychological reaction among the masses which will clear the path for some Bonapart or a Bourbon.[337]

Vynnychenko's numerous comments in his diary for this period, as well as his articles in **Nova doba** echo this thought repeatedly. From this time, until his death in 1951, Vynnychenko maintained a public posture of being an irreconciliable enemy of the RCP. His pronouncements on the personalities and the politics of the CPU did vary in intensity over this whole period, but it is important to remember that his comments were always carefully formulated with reference to the international political climate as well as to the correlation of forces which existed between the CPU and the RCP. With our historical perspective, we are able to make informed judgements on Vynnychenko's decisions at different times to fluctuate between hostile criticism and his willingness to cooperate with the CPU.

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[337] Spiridonov, in a letter to **Roboche delo**, no. 8, quoted in "E. Kh. Chykalenko pro V.K. Vynnychenka," **Ukrainskyi holos** 12 (Winnipeg, 24 March 1920).

It must be remembered that when Vynnychenko thought that Moscow would actually be forced to allow the CPU decision-making powers with respect to the formation of a Ukrainian Red Army and Ukrainianization, he entered the CPU and received one of the highest posts in the Ukrainian Soviet government.[338]

It was only a few months previous to this, on 16 March 1920, at the Fourth Party Conference of the CPU that the UKP fused with the CPU and the Sapronov opposition was successful in capturing the Central Committee with their largest single block of votes (60 out of 260).[339] The Sapronov Opposition (Sapronov, Rafail, Ivanov, Oleksii and others) criticised Stalin's speech at the conference, saying that the mobilization of the working class, the introduction of political departments, labour brigades, and vertical centralism, and the cancellation of collegiality -- all this appeared as a mechanical warring [voienshchina].[340]

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[338] After submitting a letter to the Central Committee of the CPU on his political views and demands, Vynnychenko was named deputy Commissar of the Soviet of People's Commissariats and Commissar of Foreign Affairs. His acceptance of these positions hinged on the CPU's willingness to bring him into the Politbureau, and on a positive decision from the RCP concerning several national demands. Since these conditions were not met, one day after being named to these posts, Vynnychenko expressed his unwillingness to work with the RCP, and soon managed to leave the country.

As a *regional* organization of the RCP, the CPU is *structurally* incapable of achieving a sufficient amount of autonomy to be able to think and act on the basis of the specific interests of Ukraine. From its beginnings, the CPU was an organization which was brought into Ukraine on the points of bayonets and played an insignificant role in taking power in Ukraine. That was the reason for its inability to place roots and develop into any sort of dynamic force. As Vynnychenko pointed out in 1921:

> Not having any deep roots among Ukrainian workers, being continuously tied... organizationally with its center in Petrograd or Moscow, this organization did not understand and could not understand the dynamics of the *Ukrainian* Revolution. It always viewed the *Ukrainian* Revolution as part and parcel of the one and undivided Russian Revolution; on all historical, social, national, economic differences, on the

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[339] Matvii Iavorskyi, **Revoliutsiia na Vkraini v ii holovnishykh etapakh** (Kharkiv, 1923): 73-4.

[340] Ibid., p. 74.

> peculiarities of the *Ukrainian* Revolution, it did not, and did not want to pay any attention.[341]

The CPU was not only put into power by the Red Army, it was also built up by direct administrative decisions from the RCP's ruling center. Even the Central Committee of the CPU has always been appointed by the Politbureau of the RCP. For this reason the CPU has been characterized as a

> governmental apparatus of the Central Committee of the RCP in Ukraine... [which carries out] the directives of the military occupation of Ukraine. This is its fundamental task. Not the organization of agriculture in Ukraine on the basis of socialist principles, not the organization of the proletariat and of the internal revolutionary forces of Ukraine, but merely forming the apparatus for the most efficient exploitation of the material resources of Ukraine.[342]

For the CPU to become a party of the proletariat in Ukraine, several fundamental changes -- changes which threaten the whole oligarchic system -- would have had to take place. First, the social and national composition of the CPU, at all of its levels, would have had to mirror society on a smaller scale. But for this to have occured, truly democratic elections of higher bodies by lower ones would have had to take place. In turn, for this to have happened, the whole system of nomenclatura or "naznachenstvo" would have had to be abolished. This was proposed as early as 1920 by Vynnychenko.[343]

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[341] V. Vynnychenko, "Ukrainska komunistychna partiia (UKP) i Komunistychna partiia (bolshevykiv) Ukrainy (KP(b)U)," **Nova doba** 47 (22 Jan 1921): 1. Emphasis in the original.

[342] Ibid., p. 2.

The banning of factions inside the RKP by Lenin was his last and most destructive act and represented the consummation of his whole political career. Lenin was a party builder. His talents fully revealed themselves in his struggle against enemies of his party. By convincing, neutralizing, confusing, dividing, intimidating, and repressing enemies of his centralized, hierarchic party's 'unity', Lenin was able to insure that his party remained the leading functioning legal force in the country. Banning factions within the party was in substance no different from a series of previous repressive decisions:

1. forcing all other parties to dissolve and some of their members to join the RKP on an individual basis (UKP, Borotbisty, Spilka, and others);
2. banning, harrassing, repressing and disciplining the members of various fractions and tendencies inside the CPU or RCP (Lapchynskyi, Mazlakh-Shakhrai, the Workers' Opposition, etc.);
3. splitting the RSDRP to rid opponents (Mensheviks);
4. subordinating other political groups to the RKP (the Moscow branch of the KP(b)U losing separate

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[343] Ibid.

representation in the Third International[344] and the Federation of Foreign Communist Groups (Federatsiia inostrannykh komunistychnykh hrup -- FIKH) being subordinated to the RKP's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.[345]

This last point actually refers to the *general aim* of all the actions enumerated in the foregoing points. The banning of factions in the RKP put a final end to any hope for reforming the RKP. From that moment, all opposition was forced underground to what essentially meant its virtual elimination. Although Lenin's decision did not stop the party from disintegrating, it did insure that the Politbureau remained the supreme ruling body. Vynnychenko would later say of the Bolsheviks:

> History has mocked and shamed the Russian Communists, changing their revolutionarianism into its opposite, making of them not all-sided liberators, but all-sided oppressors.[346]

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[344] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 452.

[345] Already in February 1919 most of the member groups of the FIKH were demanding autonomy from the RKP. Their only way out was to demand that they be responsible to the Biuro of the Third International. (Kulinych, p. 46, 48-9.) They were able to achieve this at the All-Russian Conference of FIKH on 3-4 March 1919, but as soon as the Czech Communist Group moved to Kiev later that month, the newly formed replacement of the Central Committee of the FIKH -- the Central Bureau of Foreign Communists -- was somehow manipulated to overturn the conference decision, on 2 April 1919.

[346] V. Vynnychenko, "Dva sprostuvannia," **Vpered** 1-2 (14) (1951): 12.

Vynnychenko had no doubt that underlying all the repressive Soviet legislation, the anti-democratic actions and the unjust behaviour of the Soviet and Party members were ancient human feelings involving jealousy, alienation, chauvinism and fear. Vynnychenko's greatest contribution was his attempt to live by his personal political philosophy. His creative genius in documenting, in his short stories and novels, such attempts on his part as well as that of people around him, insured that posterity was left with a record of the valuable lessons of the Ukrainian Revolution. At the same time, Vynnychenko's ability to truthfully and poignantly reveal the reality of the period, insured that those with a vested interest in keeping the truth about the historical past out of history books, would continue to try to silence Vynnychenko.

11. CONSISTENCY UNTIL DEATH: A CONCLUSION

"Mabut pryishov kinets.
Z'ily sukyny syny revoliutsiiu."[347]

To this day, the silence surrounding Vynnychenko's literary and political achievements, especially in the Soviet Union, is the most damning criticism of a regime that is run by a ruling class eager to publish V. Shulgin's memoirs[348] but which refuses to even list Vynnychenko's works in standard bibliographies. Vynnychenko, who extensively wrote for the benefit of the nationally conscious Ukrainian socialists and sincere revolutionaries,[349] about the hypocritical politics and ethics of the Bolsheviks,[350] refused to be intimidated by Bolshevik attacks of him as a 'counterrevolutionary', 'imperialist underling,' etc. He had no reservations, when the political mood in Ukraine switched from one of fear and docility towards communists to one of extreme hostility even to the words "communism" and "socialism," in renouncing the term "communism":

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[347] Mykola Khvylovyi, quoted in O. Harmash, "M. Khvylovyi i nasha doba," **Nasha borotba** 2 (1946): 49.

[348] V. Shulgin, **Gody**. In his memoirs, Shulgin praises one of the most notorious opponents of the revolutionary movements of underground Russia -- Stolypin. Panas Fedenko, "Poeziia i polityka: Z pryvodu 90-littia Volodymyra Vynnychenka," **Nashe slovo** 2 (Jan 1971): 36.

[349] "But you comrades ['revolutionaries, communists, honest, people dedicated to the cause of the social liberation of humankind'], all have not always and everywhere followed through with the most consistent determined conclusions from the teachings [of the leaders of communism about the national question]; you have not consistently, nor conclusively harmonized your actions with your thoughts." V. Vynnychenko, "Do politbura Ts.K. KP(b)U," in his **Za iaku Ukrainu** (Paris, 1934): 10.

[350] "The Russian revolutionaries have always had an unconscious conception of national relations which has been reflected in their consciousness by an insulting, and even a hostile view of the national problem as being bourgeois." Ibid.

> After this experiment with the so-called 'communism' of Moscow's, I have thrown away the very term -- a term which has been discredited and perverted by them -- and no longer apply it to myself. I repeat, I have not yet heard anything of 'neo-communism' and I do not include myself as part of it. But let me tell you, if it had as a basis of its world view that Zaporozhzhian communism (the destruction of all repression, of all sorts of oppression, exploitation, the rule of people over other people in whatever form), if these neocommunists, in practice, not only in their declarations, proved their allegiance to *this* sort of communism, then I would be prepared to call myself a neocommunist...[351]

It was Vynnychenko's confirmed, determined opposition to, and condemnation of Russian communism in its Bolshevik variety, which forever precluded the Soviet Union ever rehabilitating him.

Vynnychenko's personal characteristics and skills as a perceptive and active writer, philosopher, dramatist, politician and revolutionary, raised him to become Ukraine's most famous public personality in the first two decades of this century. His commitment to the struggle for social justice was carefully circumscribed by his dedication to a personal philosophy which contained elements of revolutionary socialist morality -- a philosophy which allowed him to win the respect and trust of millions of people and raised him to the most responsible political posts in Ukraine.

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[351] V. Vynnychenko, "Dva sprostovannia," **Vpered** 1-2(14) (1951): 12.

Once, while in Moscow, waiting to be allowed to leave the country, Vynnychenko considered the question of dying and the needs of his country. He realized that a community's instinct to live may sometimes demand the sacrifice of some of its members. With calm resolution he wrote:

> We will win. Not in the near future, not in the short term -- here we will, undoubtedly, lose; and when we lose in the short term, then this means only that we will win later, that the greatest, our most victorious trump remains -- our sacrifice. It can't lose. It will become a permanent, continuous bugle which will call to battle for [one's] existence, it will be a continuous call, which no censors, no prohibitions will be able to destroy and conceal.[352]

In one of his last articles, Vynnychenko re-affirmed his belief in the continuing existence of Ukrainian statehood -- a statehood which he helped to establish and defend since 1917.

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[352] V. Vynnychenko, **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920** (Edmonton-New York, 1980): 462.

The Ukrainian state, Ukrainian statehood exists in Ukraine. It was created by the people -- the whole Ukrainian nation in the process of that grand transformation of life in the 'prison of nations' - Russia. Without this creativity, no chieftain, leadership, or minister would be able to lay even one stone in constructing Ukrainian statehood. And, for this same reason, it is not so easy to, ruin or 'destroy' this construction. Exactly how strong it is, is testified to by the fact that even its greatest enemy -- Russian imperialists of all stripes (whether so-called democrats or so-called communists) do not have the strength (and therefore the audacity) to topple it. Why, in that so-called 'Union of Soviet Republics' is there not a Riazan or a Tambov Republic, while there is a Ukrainian one? Because, the creation of a Riazan or a Tambov Republic would elicit only confusion, misunderstanding, laughter, anger. But the existence of a Ukrainian state is recognized as a normal thing which is based on all the necessary prerequisites and foundations. Even more: the Ukrainian state is such an undeniable fact that Russian Soviet imperialism was forced not only to preserve almost all the attributes of statehood but also deemed it necessary to bring Ukraine into the United Nations as an independent country with the right to vote,

> separate from the Soviet Union. ...I repeat, it [the Ukrainian state] was created by the people, the nation, not by a bunch of poor emigres. The people defended it, defends it, and will continue to defend it with all their strengths -- both physical and spiritual. Not emigre 'chiefs' and 'ministers', but the Hrushevskys, Skrypnyks, Khvylovys, Iefremovs, even the Liubchenkos and all conscious Soviet Ukrainians in the thousands gave their freedom, health, and life for it; thousands now continue [the struggle], among the ranks of party members, as well as in the ranks of the most active part of the Ukrainian population which is called the *Ukrainian Insurgent Army* [Ukrainska povstanska armiia -- UPA].[353]

Vynnychenko's philosophy, his opposition to economic exploitation and national oppression, represented a fusion of national consciousness with class consciousness. Indeed, Vynnychenko's emphasis on the need to unite the national and the social questions into a single programmatic perspective is perhaps his most significant contribution, one which is echoed in much of recent Ukrainian unofficial writing.[354]

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[353] V. Vynnychenko, "Dva sprostovannia," **Vpered** 3-4 (1951): 3.

[354] See Ivan Dziuba, **Internatsionalizm chy rusyfikatsiia?** (Munich, 1968); **Natsionalnyi vopros v SSSR: Sbornik dokumentov.** Compiled by Roman Kupchynskyi. (Munich, 1975); and Iurii Bad'zo, "Vidkrytyi lyst do prezydii Verkhovnoi Rady Soiuzu RSR ta tsentralnoho komitetu KPRS," in **USPD.** Vol. 1. (New York, 1983): 328-62.

Vynnychenko's criticism of the Bolsheviks revealed the most weakest aspects of socialist theories of revolution, and offered an explanation for the serious mistakes made by participants in the Ukrainian and Russian revolutions of 1917-21. Vynnychenko's criticisms of the Bolsheviks, of their theories of the party, their lack of an ethical system and their hostility towards the demands of oppressed nations, has lost none of its relevance. His insistence on the importance of individual morality is also a contemporary concern. In short, Vynnychenko remains relevant -- which is perhaps the most favourable verdict which history can render on an individual's thought.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

11.0.1 Introduction

The following bibliographies include some works which were not consulted (because of their unavailability) but which may have been quoted and analyzed in other works. The various editions of the works have been included to give the reader assistance in locating those publications which are available, as well as providing some idea as to the publishing history of each work.

Where more than one author has signed an article written by members of any organization, that article will be entered under each name as well as under the specific organization which sponsored or published that article. Not included, because of their unavailability, in this list of Vynnychenko's works are most articles from **Robitnycha hazeta** (unless they were mentioned in articles by other writers).

During our attempts at compiling a bibliography of Vynnychenko's works, numerous problems of arrangement cropped up. Some works were known by more than one title (e.g. "Rivnovaha" = "Na vesakh zhizni" = "Vichnyi imperatyv" = "Zavety otsov"), while others had their titles altered either during the course of being written or after publication (e.g. "Syla i krasa" became "Krasa i syla"). Similarly, works that were translated would have different titles as would those of Vynnychenko's works mentioned by prominent authors translated by someone unaquainted with

Vynnychenko. Thus, Alexandra Kollontai, in her **The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman**, (London, 1972) mentions one of "Winnitschenko's" novels ("Rivnovaha"), which is translated as "On life's scale" (on page 63) and later as "On the path of life" (on page 71). An interested reader would be hard pressed ever finding either of these works.

To assist researchers in identifying and locating material, multiple entries of Vynnychenko's works under the various titles have been made. Each entry, however, will have pointers to the same works with different titles, which will lead to a main heading.

Another problem involves articles, letters and published speeches which were published without titles or reprinted with different titles. In such cases a standardized title would be given in square brackets as the main heading and any later versions of those articles, letters and speeches which received titles from editors or other writers, would still be listed under that bracketed title. In such cases, the actual title is given immediately following the added (bracketed) title, and it is traced.

Perhaps unique to this bibliography, is the inclusion of items which have never been published as a separate unit but comprise Vynnychenko's ideas as quoted by other writers and historians. Thus, for example, the reader will find an entry in square brackets (["Rozmova z Hetmanom"]) which refers to a number of quotes and comments made by a historian on a conversation Vynnychenko held with Skoropadskyi. This sort of material is included because it is not always clear whether or not the quoted or paraphrased material was taken from reports in newspapers no longer available or from conversations with the author. By listing such material chronologically (and eventually thematically), comparison and thus identification is made easier. One problem that such a chronological listing will tend to solve, is the problem of confusing different articles which have the same title. Thus, various historians will refer to a speech that Vynnychenko gave at a peasants' conference. The fact that the conference lasted several days, and that Vynnychenko may have spoken several times, is not usually made clear. Reference to such a speech may cause confusion if no precise date is given and if no standard title is used. In our bibliography, a standard title (such as "Dopovid na druhomu vseukrainskomu viiskovomu zizdi") is assigned to all of Vynnychenko's speeches at this congress, with a specific date indicated.

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Zhylynskyi, Mykola. [Held Captive by Falsehood.] **Literaturna Ukraina** (11 May 1971): 4. [Vynnychenko, Khvylovyi and others are attacked.]

"Zhyvucha syla." **Vistnyk 'Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy'** 41-42 (1915?). [Praises Vynnychenko's "V chem nasha syla?"]

Ziber, M. **Teoriia tsennost i kapital E. Rikardo**. Kiev, 1871.

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"Zvernennia do komunistiv usoho svitu." **Suchasnist** 12 (108) (Dec 1969): 92-98.

"Zvit Vynnychenka." **Ukrainskyi holos** (5 Sept 1917). [On Vynnychenko's trip to Petrograd.]

APPENDIX 1: An Alphabetical Listing of Vynnychenko's Works

"A Canoa No Mar" SEE "Holod" [In Portuguese].

"A Fome" SEE "Holod" [In Portuguese].

"Across the Line" SEE "Na toi bik"

"Adres ukrainstiv pro potrebu ukrainskoi movy," **LNV** 30 (Apr-June 1905): 65-7. [This article carries the signatures of 99 intellectuals (including VV's) and defends the Ukrainian language.]

"Anarchiste: Poetivost k sobe: Roman" SEE "Chesnist z soboiu."

["Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."] [In Italian] **Avanti** (23 May 1920). [A letter to the editor.]

["Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."] "Vynnychenkivtsiam v albom," **Pravda** 3-4 (Toronto, 1973): 344-7. [This is a reprint of VV's "Antantsko-ukrainska komediia" signed 22 May 1920.]

["Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."] "Druha storona medali: Strashnyi dokument," **Ukrapres** vol. 4, no. 29 (Mar-Apr 1985): 13-16.

["Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."] "Strashnyi dokument: Zrada V. Vynnychenka," **Shliakh peremohy** (17 Mar 1985): 3-4.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi: Opovidannia," **Kievskaia staryna** 3 (1903).

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," **Povisty i opovidannia.** By V. Vynnychenko and V. Dede. Lviv: Ukrainsko-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 102-57.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev, 1906.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" [In Russian] In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" [In Russian] in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," **Robitnyk** 56-66 (14 Mar 1918-26 Mar 1918): 3.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi: Opovidannia," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia**. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 188-235.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

["Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi."] [In German] "Der Theaterunternehmer Garkun-Sadunajskij," in his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

"Appel du Directoire sur les pogromes," **Les pogromes en Ukraine sous les gouvernments ukrainiens, 1917-1920**. Paris, 1927: appendix, 36-7. [Signed by VV, Makarenko, Shvets, Petliura and Andriievskyi.]

"Appel du Directoire de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne au peuple Ukrainien, du 11 Janvier 1919," **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine**. Paris, 1927: 29-30.

"Atelie shchastia." [Written in Aug 1925. Unpublished? However, SEE "Poklady zolota."]

"Au souffle des vents, des vents furieux." SEE "Viiut vitry, viiut buini.."

"Ausgewahte Erzahlungen" SEE "Vybrani tvory" [In German].

"Avtonomiia i kontrybutsiia" SEE "Pana Mara."

Babusyn podarunok. Kiev, 1923.

"Babusyn podarunok," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

Babusyn podarunok. Kiev: Chas, 1927.

"Babusyn podarunok," in his **Vybrani tvory: Tom** 7. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

"Babusyn podarunok," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Babusyn podarunok. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

Babusyn podarunok. Introduction by Ol. Poltoratskyi. Kiev: Siaivo, 1928.

"Babusyn podarunok," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Babusyn podarunok," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Babusyn podarunok. Illustrations and cover by B. Kriukov. Kiev: DVU, 1929.

Babusyn podarunok. Illustrations by P. Lapyna. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

[**Babusyn podarunok.**] [In Yiddish]
Kharkiv, 1929.

"Babusyn podarunok," in his **Vybrani tvory.** Edited by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

Babusyn podarunok. Illustrations by Ardt. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1930.

"Babusyn podarunok," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7: **Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

Babusyn podarunok: Khvedko-khalamydnyk = Granny's Gift: Fedko-Mischievous Boy. Edited by Mariia Deiko. Melbourne: Lastivka, 1969. (V. Vynnyczenko).

"Baraniache chornosotentstvo," **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 4-5. [A reaction to an article in "Ukr. Prapor" which accused "Nova doba" of falsifying Baran's letters.]

"Baryshenka," **Promin** 1 (1916).

"Baryshenka," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

"Baryshenka," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Baryshenka. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

"Baryshenka," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Baryshenka," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Baryshenka," in his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

"Bazar" Staged:
in 1923-1929 at the Nizhynskyi Institute of Education, by Protsenko.

"Bazar: Piesa na 4 rozdily," **LNV** 49, no. 2 (Feb 1910): 241-93. [Written before his "Shchabli zhyttia". Sent to Gorki to be reviewed.]

"Bazar" [In Russian]
"Bazar," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 4.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

"Bazar" [In Russian]
"Bazar," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

"Bazar" Staged:
in 1917 (May) in Kiev by L. Kurbas of the "Molodyi teatr".

Bazar: Piesa. Kiev, 1918.

"Bazar" Staged:
in 1919 in Zaltsvedel camp by "Moloda Ukraina".

Bazar: Piesa na chotyry rozdily. Winnipeg: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 1920.

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"Bazar" Staged:
in 1922 (Apr) in West Fort William.

"Bazar: Piesa na chotyry rozdily," in his **Tvory: Tom 11.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 111-91.

"Bazar," in his **Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Bazar: Piesa. Lviv: Dzvin, 1926.

"Bazar," in his **Tvory: Tom 11**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Bazar," in his **Tvory: Tom 11**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Beauty and the Strength" SEE "Syla i krasa"

"Beleza e forca" SEE "Syla i krasa" [In Spanish].

"Beznadiini nadii," **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 1-2. [On Petliurivshchyna. No reason for being happy about the failure of Soviet power in Ukraine. Describes rise in national consciousness in peasants.]

"Beznadiini nadii," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 23 (Winnipeg, 5 May 1920): 4.

"Bilesenka," in his **Prorok ta nevydanni opovidannia**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk, V. Miiakovskyi and V. Chaplenko. New York: KDVSVV, 1960: 79-92. [Completed in June 1926.]

"Bilesenka," **Ukrainskyi ohliad** 6 (1961): 17-30.

"Bilesenka," in his **Namysto**. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1976.

"Bilia mashyny," **Kievskaia staryna** 12 (1902). [Many of the characters are based on people VV met in 1900? such as Ukrainian-Hungarian communists? e.g. Stanyk.]

"Bilia mashyny," **Povisty i opovidannia**. By V. Vynnychenko and V. Dede. Lviv: Ukrainska-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 158-81.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Krasa i syla i inshi opovidannia**. Kiev, 1906.

Bilia mashyny. Kiev, 1911.

Bilia mashyny: opovidannie. Kiev: Dzvin, 1912.

Bilia mashyny: Opovidannia. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

Bilia mashyny: opovidannie. Skranton, Pa.: Vydavnytstvo Prosvitnoi Komisii Ruskoho Narodnoho Soiuzu, 1916.

["Bilia mashyny."] [In Russian]
"U molotikti," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

Bilia mashyny: opovidannie. Vienna-Kiev: Dzvin, 1919.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Kuz ta Hrytsun**. Odessa, 1919.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia**. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 124-53.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Holod**. Kiev, 1920.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Book 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 1**. Kiev: Chas, 1926.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Bilia mashyny. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

"Bilia mashyny," **Shyrokym krokom: Chytanka dlia doroslykh**. 2d ed. Edited by L. Iakymchuk. [Kharkiv]: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1928: 86-87.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Edited by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930. [Includes: "Bilia mashyny," "Rab krasy," "Na prystani," "Khto voroh," "Kuz ta Hrytsun."]

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

"Bilia mashyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

Bilia mashyny. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1932.

"Biohrafichni dani," **Pravda** 3 (Winnipeg, 20 Jan 1937): 2; 4 (27 Jan 1937): 3.

"Biskaia" SEE "Soniachna mashyna" (Excerpt).

"Der Blinde Kraft" SEE "Temna syla" [In German]

"Boh Ivanyshche" SEE his "Vichnyi imperatyv."

"Borba" SEE "Borotba" [In Russian]

"Borotba," **Povisty i opovidannia.** Lviv: Ukrainska Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 1-101. (V. Vynnychenko and V. Dede).

Borotba: Opovidanie. Lviv-Chernivtsi: R.U.P., 1903. (V. Dede).

Borotba. 1906.

["Borotba."] [In Russian]
Borba. s.n.: Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov, 1910.

["Borotba."]
En Lutte. Translated from Ukrainian by the author. Paris?: Partiia Sotsiialistiv-Revoliutsioneriv, 1910. [This is the author's "Borotba".] (V. Vynnytchenko).

Borotba: Z lystiv studenta, zaslanoho v saldaty. 3rd ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

Borotba: Z lystiv studenta, zaslanoho v saldaty. 4th ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

"Borotba," **Robitnyk** 71-90 (1-23 Apr 1918): 3.

"Borotba," in his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 5-84.

Borotba ta inshi opovidannia. SEE **Tvory: Tom 3: Borotba ta inshi opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

"Borotba," in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

"Borotba," in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Borotba," in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Borotba: Z lystiv studenta, zaslanoho v saldaty. Kharkiv: Ukr. Robitnyk, 1928.

"Borotba," in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

["Borotba."] [In Russian]
Borba. Trans. by E. Prikhodchenko. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1929.

Borotba. Foreword by O. Tyshchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1931.

"Borotba," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

"Bosiak," **Osnova: Vistnyk pysmenstva nauky i hromadskoho zhyttia.** (Odessa, 1915).

"Bosiak," **Iezhemesiachnyi zhurnal** 6-10 (1915). [VV began writing this on 2 Dec 1914 while living under an assumed name in Moscow. The Russian version was ready two weeks later.]

"Bosiak," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 9.** Translated into Russian. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915.

"Bosiak," in his **Tvory: Tom 9.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 5-120.

Bosiak i inshi opovidannia. SEE **Tvory: Tom 9: Bosiak i inshi opovidannia.** 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

"Bosiak," in his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Bosiak," in his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Bosiak," in his **Vybrani tvory.** Comp. by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

"Bosiak," in his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

["Bosiak."]
"Dnipro," **Shyrokym krokom: Chytanka dlia doroslykh.** Edited by L. Iakymchuk. 2d ed. [Kharkiv]: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1928. [Excerpt from VV's "Bosiak."]

Bosiak: Povist. Kharkiv: Ukr. Robitnyk, 1928.

"Bosiak," in his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

"Bosiak," in his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Bosiak," in his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

"Bozhky," **Dzvin** 3-6 (1914): 383-419,(?). [Concerning the relations between Ukrainian and Russian Social Democrats.]

["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom** 7. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom** 8. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki: Roman v 2 chastiakh" [In Russian] . Moscow: Zemlia, 1916.

["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom** 8. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

Bozhky: Roman. SEE **Tvory: Tom 8: Bozhky: Roman.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

"Bozhky," in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

"Bozhky," in his **Tvory: Tom 19.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Bozhky," in his **Tvory: Tom 19.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Bratannia chy prosto vzhe braterstvo," **Robitnyk** 166 (Cleveland, 13 Oct 1917): 2.

"Bratannia chy prosto vzhe braterstvo," **Robitnycha hazeta** 69 (Kiev, 24 June 1917): 1. [On how "Kievskaia Mysl" and "Kievlianyn" distorted his words about Ukrainian soldiers leaving the front.]

"Brekhnia: Piesa na 3 dii," **LNV** 52, no. 10 (October 1910): 3-57. [Written in the summer of 1910.]

Brekhnia. Kharkiv, 1910. [Unavailble.]

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1910-1911 by the M. K. Sadovskyi theatre group in Kiev.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1910? by Iosyp Stadnyk, stage director of the "Ruska besida" theatre in Lviv.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1915-1916 (Feb) in Petrograd at the Aleksandrinskyi theatre.

Brekhnia. Kharkiv: Dzvin, 1915.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1916 by the A.I. Sibiriakov theatre in Odessa.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1916 in Moscow, Petrograd, Saratov by the Von Meves theatre.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1916 in Samara by Lebedeva.

["Brekhnia."] [In Russian]
    Lozh. Moscow: Izd. S.F. Razsokhina, 1916.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1916 in Baku by Polonskyi.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1916 (May-Aug) at the Nezlobin theatre.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1916 (28 Sept) in Ekaterynodar by E.E. Berzhe. Advertised as a new production of the Nezlobin theatre.

["Brekhnia."] [In Russian]
    Lozh: Chernaia pantera: Prigvozhdennie. Moscow: "Zemlia", 1917. [Russian translations of VV's "Brekhnia," "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" and "Pryhvozhdeni".]

["Brekhnia."] [In Russian]
    "Lozh," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1918 in Kiev by the Derzhavnyi dramatychnyi teatr, directed by O. Zaharov (under the title "Mirandolina").

["Brekhnia."] [In Russian]
    "Lozh," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1918.

["Brekhnia."] [In Czech]
    Lez. Prague: Havlicek, 1920? [A Czech translation of VV's "Brekhnia."]

"Brekhnia" Staged:
    in 1921 (Jan 7) in Vienna by the "Sich" drama group.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1921 in Kiev by the Dramatychnyi teatr im. Shevchenka.

Brekhnia. Kiev, 1922.

["Brekhnia."] [In German]
Die Luge: Drama in drei akten. An authorized translation from Ukrainian by Von Gustav Specht. Postdam: G. Kiepenheuer, 1922. [A German translation of "Brekhnia."]

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1922 in Berlin at the Volksbuhne theatre.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1923 in Kiev by the Teatr im. Zankovetskoi.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1923 (fall) in Stockholm and in Copenhagen.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1923 (Jan-Feb) in Kharkiv by the Kiev Derzhavnyi teatr im. Shevchenka.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1924 by the Teatr im. Franka.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1924 (Mar 29) in Winnipeg.

Brekhnia: Piesa. Lviv: Dzvin, 1925.

"Brekhnia: Piesa na try dii," in his **Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory: Brekhnia, Spivochi tovarystva**. Kiev-Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 5-91.

"Brekhnia," in his **Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory**. Comp. by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

["Brekhnia."] [In Italian] "Noil e il mondo," **Le Menzogne: Dramma ucraino in tre atti**. Rome: Italiane e Straniere, 1926: 683-712.

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1929 (Apr 20) in East Killodan, Man.

["Brekhnia."] [In Polish]
"Klamstvo," in his **Opowiadannia**. Translated by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

"Bula, ie i bude," **Ukrainski visti** 96 (Neu Ulm, 28 Nov 1948): 2-3; 97 (2 Dec 1948): 3.

"Bula, ie i bude," **Ukrainski visti** 30 (Detroit, 23 July 1980): 2-4,6; 31 (30 July 1980): 2-3,6. [On Gorky, Bukharin, Fedotov.]

"Cerna pantera a bily medved" SEE "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."

"Chad." [Kiev?], 1929.

["Chekannia."] [In Russian]
"Ozhidanie," **Novaia zhizn** (St. Petersburgh, Nov 1912).

"Chekannia: Opovidannia," **Rada** 206 (21 Sept 1912): 2-4.

"Chekannia." 1912.

"Chekannia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1913].

["Chekannia."] [In Russian]
"Ozhidanie," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 4.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

["Chekannia."] [In Russian]
"Ozhidanie," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

"Chekannia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 135-51.

"Chekannia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

["Chekannia."] [In Russian]
Ozhidanie: Rasskaz. Moscow: Zemlia i Fabrika, 1926.

"Chekannia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Chekannia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Chekannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Chekannia. Desheva biblioteka krasnoho pysmenstva, 197. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

Chekannia. Illustrations by Iu. Kulpovych. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1930.

"Chernaia pantera" SEE "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Yiddish]
Translated from Russian by Ts. Sarin. New York: Maks

Iankovets.

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Russian]
Chestnost s soboi. Zemlia 5 (1911).

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Russian]
Chesnost s soboi: Povest. Munich: Izd. G. Miullera, 1914.

"Chesnist z soboiu: Roman," in his **Tvory: Tom 10.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 3-268.

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Czech]
Anarchiste: Poetivost k sobe: Roman. Prague: Jaroslav Rehak, 1922. [This is VV's "Chesnist z soboiu" translated into Czech.]

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Russian]
Chesnost s soboi: Povest. Berlin: Izd. Olga Diakova i Ko., 1922.

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In German]
Ehrlich zu sich selbst. Berlin: Olga Diakova & Co., [1923?]. [A German translation of his "Chestnost s soboi."] (W. Winnitschenko).

"Chesnist z soboiu," in his **Tvory: Tom 16.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Yiddish]
New York, 1926.

"Chesnist z soboiu: Roman," in his **Tvory: Tom 16.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

"Chesnist z soboiu," in his **Tvory: Tom 16.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Chesnist z soboiu," in his **Tvory: Tom 16.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Chestnost s soboi" SEE "Chesnist z soboiu."

"Chest: Opovidannia," **Rada** 39 (29 Oct 1906): 1-3.

"Chest," in his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 166-82.

"Chest" [In Russian]
. **Nikolsk Ussuriiskii** 21 (Jan-Feb 1910).

["Chest."] [In Russian]
"Chest." Translated by F. Havrish. **Golos provintsii** 2 (Uman, 1911).

"Chest: Opovidannia," **Robitnyk** 79 (30 June 1917): 3; 80 (2 July 1917): 3; 81 (3 July 1917): 3; (5 July 1917): 3.

"Chest," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev-Dzvin, 1919: 277-91.

"Chest," in his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

"Chest," in his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Chest," in his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Chest. Kharkiv: Ukr. Robitnyk, 1927.

Chest. Desheva biblioteka krasnoho pysmenstva, 157. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

"Chest," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Chest," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Chest. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1932.

"Chest," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

"Chest," in his **Opovidannia.** Edited and compiled by Mykhailo Molnar. Priashiv: Slovatske Pedahohichne Vydavnytstvo, 1968: 235-44.

"Chetvertyi Universal" SEE "Universal - chetvertyi".

"Pershyi Universal" SEE "Universal - pershyi".

"Tretii Universal" SEE "Universal - tretii".

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid: Piesa na 4 dii," **LNV** 54, no. 6 (June 1911): 385-431. [Banned from being staged in tsarist Russia in 1911.]

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1913-14 by Siretskyi of the Besida theatre (where L. Kurbas played the part of Kornii).

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1914 (Aug) in Lviv by S. Charnetskyi at the Ruska Besida theatre.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1915-16 in Saratov by Von Meves.

["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In Russian]
"Chernaia pantera i bilyi vedmid," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1917-18 (every Sunday) at the "Berhonie" theatre in Kiev by L. Kurbas (with O. Dobrovolska playing the part of Snizhynka.).

["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In Russian]
"Chernaia pantera," **Lozh: Chernaia pantera: Prigvozhdennie**. Moscow: "Zemlia", 1917: 79-169. [Russian trans. of VV's "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid".]

["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In Russian]
"Chernaia pantera i bilyi vedmid," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1918.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1918 in Kiev by V. Kalyna.

Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid: Piesa. Kiev: Dzvin, 1918.

["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In German]
"Die Schwarze Pantherin." [Film]. Produced by Johannes Guter in 1922 in Berlin.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1922? in Berlin by Ivan Shmidt.

["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In Czech]
Cerna pantera a bily medved. Translated into Czech by K. Kral. Prague: Havlicek, 1922. [VV's "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."](V. Vynnycenko)

["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In German]
Der Weisse bar und die schwarze pantherkatze schauspiel in 4 akten. Postdam: G. Kiepenheuer, 1922. (W. Wynnytschenko.)

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1923 in Winnipeg in the Ukr. robitnychyi dim.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1923 (Fall) in New York with Nazimova playing the leading role.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1923 (Feb 17) in Winnipeg.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medmid," in his **Tvory: Tom 13**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medmid," in his **Tvory: Tom 13.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1927.

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1930 (Apr 12) in Winnipeg.

"Chudnyi epizod," **LNV** 52, no. 11 (Nov 1910): 209-17.

"Chudnyi epizod," in his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?].

["Chudnyi epizod."] [In Russian]
"Strannii epizod." Translated by K. Dalnytskyi. In **Zakavkaze** 1 (Tiflis, 1911).

["Chudnyi epizod."] [In Russian]
"Strannoe proisshestvie," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 1.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

"Chudnyi epizod," in his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 2d ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 139-51.

"Chudnyi epizod," in his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Chudnyi epizod," in his **Tvory: Tom 4**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Chudnyi epizod. Kharkiv: Ukr. Robitnyk, 1928.

"Chudnyi epizod," in his **Opovidannia**. Edited and compiled by M. Molnar. Priashiv: Slovatske Pedahohichne Vyd-vo, 1968: 245-54.

["Chudnyi epizod."] [In English]
"A Strange Episode," **Modern Ukrainian Short Stories.** Edited by George S.N. Luckyj. Translated by Lada Hirna and Danylo Struk. Toronto: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1973: 60-77.

"Chuzhi liudy: Piesa na 5 rozdiliv," **LNV** 48, no. 10 (Oct 1909): 3-71.

"Chuzhi liudy" Staged:
in 1922 (Sept) in Kiev by teatr im. M. Zankovetskoi.

"Chuzhi liudy: Piesa na p'iat rozdiliv," in his **Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni Tvory**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 1-109.

"Chuzhi liudy," in his **Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

"Chuzhi liudy," in his **Tvory: Tom 11**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Chuzhi liudy," in his **Tvory: Tom 11**. Kharkiv: Khnyhospilka, 1929.

"Chwilka" SEE "Moment" [In Polish].

"Chyi Shevchenko?" **Robochyi narod** 6, no. 5 (29 Jan 1914).

"Chyi Shevchenko?" **Robitnyk** 55 (13 Mar 1918): 1.

"Circulaire (no. 1679) contre la campagne en faveur des pogromes." [Signed 20 October 1917]. In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine**. Paris, 1927: 3-4. [This is VV's "?".] (V. Vinnitchenko).

"Collected Works" SEE ALSO "Tvory"

"Collected Works" SEE "Sobranie sochinenii"

"Concordism" SEE "Konkordyzm"

["Decret du Directoire de la République d'Ukraine, en date du 26 Novembre 1918"] In **Stavka** (1918?).

"Decret du Directoire de la République d'Ukraine, en date du 26 Novembre 1918," **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine*** 1927: 26. [This is the Directory's " * ".] (Vinnitchenko, Petliura, Shvets, Andriievskyi).

["Dekilka sliv pro nashu molod."] [In Russian] "Neskolko slov o nashei molodezhi," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 10-11 (Oct-Nov 1916): 48-52.

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata."] "Deklaratsiia Generalnogo Sekretariata oglashennaia predsedatelem V. Vinnichenko na zasedanii Tsentralnoi Rady 26 iiunia 1917," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 3-6 (1917): 143-8.

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 26 June 1917 o.s.] In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1**. Kiev-Vienna: Christopher Rice & Sons, 1920: 260-9.

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 26 June 1917 o.s.] In **Istoriia Ukrainy**. Vol 1. 1955: 104-5.

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariata."] "Persha dekliariatsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 26 June 1917]. In **USPD**. Compiled by Hunczak & Solchanyk. Vol. 1. 1983: 299-303. (Khrystiuk).

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata odobrenna plenumom UTsR na zasid. iz chervnia 1917 r."] In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 485-8.

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata."] (24 Sept 1917) [In Russian] "Izveshchenii Generalnogo Sekretariata o vstuplenii v upravlenie kraem," **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros**. Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow, 1930: 188.

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata."] (24 Sept 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 257-8.

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata."] (24 Sept 1917) [In Russian] "Izveshchenii Generalnogo Sekretariata o vstuplenii v upravlenie kraem," **Kievskaia mysl** (24 Sept 1917).

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata."] **Robitnycha hazeta** 142 (24 Sept 1917).

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 27 Sept 1917]. **Robitnycha hazeta** (1 October 1917): 1.

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 27 Sept 1917]. In **USPD**. Compiled by Hunczak & Solchanyk. Vol. 1. 1983: 313-14.

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 29 Sept 1917]. In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kharkiv, 1928: 514-18.

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 29 Sept 1917]. In **USPD**. Compiled by Hunczak & Solchanyk. Vol. 1. 1983: 315-21.

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata pro bezporiadkiv."] (1 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 353. [Argues the General Secretariat is in fact the Soviet of Peasants, Workers' and Soliders' Deputies. Calls for order.]

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata pro perehovory z kozakamy."] (1 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 421-2. [Defends its actions in disarming bolshevik troops and allowing the Cossacks to cross Ukraine.]

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR," **Robitnycha hazeta** 421 (26 Dec 1918): 2.

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." [Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In his **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3**. Vienna, 1920: 168-76. (Vynnychenko, Andriievskyi, Shvets, Makarenko, Petliura).

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." [Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In

Velyka revoliutsiia. By Mykyta Shapoval. Prague: Vilna Spilka, 1927 : 127-8. (VV, Petliura, Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR."[Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In **V ohni i buri revoliutsii.** Vol 3. By I. Mazepa. [Munich]: Prometei, 1952: 162-6. (VV, Petliura, Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." [Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 2?*. By P. Khrystiuk. New York: Vyd-vo Chartoryiskykh, 1969: 15-18. (VV, Petliura, Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." [Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In **USPD.** 1983: 408-12. (VV, Petliura, Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

"Der Blinde Kraft" SEE "Temna syla" [In German]

"Der Kleinrussische Europaer" SEE "Maloros-evropyiets" [In German]

"Der Weisse bar und die schwarze pantherkatze schauspiel in 4 akten" SEE "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."

"Der Theaterunternehmer Garkun-Sadunajskij" SEE "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" [In German]

"Der Talisman" SEE "Talisman" [In German]

"Diary" SEE "Shchodennyk."

"Die Kleine Runzel" SEE "Malenka rysochka" [In German]

"Die Luge: Drama in drei akten" SEE "Brekhnia."

"Die Revolution in Gefahr" SEE "Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi."

"Die Schwarze Pantherin." [Film]. SEE "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."

"Dizharmoniia" SEE "Dyzharmoniia"

"Dnipro," **Shyrokym krokom: Chytanka dlia doroslykh.** 2d ed. Edited by L. Iakymchuk. [Kharkiv]: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1928. [Excerpt from VV's "Bosiak."]

"Do demokratii usikh natsii svitu i do demokratii derzhav Antanty zokrema." (27 Nov 1918). Excerpt. In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3.** Vienna, 1920: 269-70.

"Do narodiv svitu: Nota uriadu UNR," **Robitnycha hazeta** 422 (27 Dec 1918): 2.

["Do narodiv svitu: Nota uriadu UNR"] (9 Jan 1919) **Izvestiia** (12 Jan 1919). (VV, Petliura, Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Shvets). [Is this his "Telehrama do Chicherina"?]

["Do oseredku URDP 'Dunai'] (Aug? 1948) "Z lysta V. Vynnychenka: Ioho dumky pro dekliaratsiiu Ukrainskoi Natsionalnoi Rady." **Revoliutsiinyi demokrat** 1 (Munich, Oct 1948): 30.

"Do oseredku URDP 'Dunai': Vidpovid V. Vynnychenka." (15 Sept 1948) **Revoliutsiinyi demokrat** 1 (Munich, Oct 1948): 30-2.

"Do politbiura TsK KP(b)U" In **Za iaku Ukrainu.** By Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Paris, 1934: 8-22.

"Do ukraintsiv-polonenykh!" **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 4. [Warns soldiers not to listen to Petliura's lies. Calls on soldiers to go over to the bolsheviks "sotniamy, chetamy, po dovie, navit po-odynytsi."]

"Do uriadiv respublik utvorenykh na terytorii Rosii" SEE "Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rosii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho tsentralnoho uriadu."

"Do viiska ukrainskoho (pivdenno-zakhidnoho ta rumunskoho) frontu i tylu." Partial text in **Istoriia Ukrainy: 1917-1923.** Vol. 1. Uzhhorod: Osyp Tsiupka, 1932: 218.

"Do vsikh narodiv i ikh pravytelstv," **Ukr. holos** (9 Apr 1919). [Concerning the Directory's desire to uphold Wilson's principles.] (VV., Shvets, Petliura, Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Chekhovskyi) [It is doubtful that Vynnychenko signed this document, since he resigned on 11 February 1919.]

"Do vsikh ukrainskykh hrup i hromadskykh techii v emigratsii sushchykh zaklyk hrupy ukrainskykh konkordystiv," **Ukrainska hromadska pora** 33 (Detroit, 14 Aug 1947): 3.

"Do TsK komunistychnoi partii (bilshovykiv) Ukrainy -- chlena zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskykh komunistiv Volodymyr Kyrylovycha Vynnychenka: Zaiava" SEE "Zaiava."

Dochka zhandarma: P'iesa na dvi dii. Lviv, 1912.

"Dochka zhandarma: P'iesa na dvi dii," **Vpered** (Lviv, 1913).

"Dochka zhandarma" Staged:
in 1920 (Feb 5) in Winnipeg.

"Dochka zhandarma" Staged:

in 1920 (Dec 11) in Edmonton.

"Dochka zhandarma," in his **Tvory: Tom 13.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Dochka zhandarma," in his **Tvory: Tom 13**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev : RUKH, 1927.

"Dohovir mizh UNR i ZUNR." (1 Dec 1918). In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3**. Vienna, 1920: 154-6. (Vynnychenko, Andriievskyi, Shvets, Petliura, Tsehelskyi, Levytskyi.)

["Dokladna zapyska."] (6 June 1920). Excerpts quoted in VV's "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu," **Nova doba** 40-2 (Dec 1920). [Different from the "Dokladna zapyska" written in Aug 1920.]

["Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vykonavchomu komitetovi rady robitnychykh ta soldatskykh dep."] "Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR," **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 475-9. (VV., D. Korobenko et al.)

"Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vykonavchomu komitetovi rady robitnychykh ta soldatskykh dep," **Visti z UTsR** 8 (May 1917): 1-3. (VV., D. Korobenko, et al.)

"Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vyk. kom. rady rob. ta soldat. dep," in his **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1.** Kiev-Vienna: Christopher Rice & Sons, 1920: 159-70.

["Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vyk. kom. rady rob. ta soldat. dep."] "Zapyska ukr. tsen. rady tym. uriadu," **Narysy z istorii.** By Mlynovetskyi. Vol. 1. 1970: 234-7, 458-68.

["Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vykonavchomu komitetovi rady robitnychykh ta soldatskykh dep."] "Ukrainska TsR i tymchasovyi uriad Rosii," **USPD.** Vol. 1. N.Y.: Suchasnist, 1983: 286-93.

["Dokladna zapyska TsK RKP."] "Dokladna zapyska Vol. Vynnychenka tsentralnomu komitetovi rosiiskoi komunistychnoi partii," **Vilna Ukraina** 1 (1921).

"Dokladna zapyska TsK RKP," **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Edmonton-New York, 1980: 435-9. [Written 9 June 1920 for Lenin. Kameniev replied.]

"Donesenie V.K. Vinnichenko Vremennomu pravitelstvu ob iiulskikh sobytiiakh v Kieve" SEE "Povidomlennia

tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi" [In Russian].

["Dopovid na chetvertomu zizdi USDRP"] (30 Sept 1917). Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 270.

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] [In English]
"Speech by V. Vinnichenko at the Second Ukrainian Military Congress," **The Russian Provisional Government, 1917**. Vol. 1. R.P Browder and A.F. Kerensky, eds. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961: 380-1.

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] [In Russian]
"Rech V. Vinnichenko na 2 vseukrainskom voiskovom s'ezde," **Kievskaia mysl** (8 June 1917).

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] "Ob taktyku ukraintsiv v teperishnyi moment." (7 June 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 110-111. ["We have no capitalist class..]

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] In **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros**. Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Vol. 3. Moscow: Izd. Kom. Akademii, 1930: 157-8. [Re: bezburzhuaznist Ukrainskoho narodu.]

["Dopovid na ekstrennomu ob'ied. zasid. rady robitnychykh i viiskovykh dep."] (20 Apr 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 45. [On the Polish example of struggling for national rights as example for "Bohdanivtsi."]

["Dopovid na ekstrennomu sessii maloi rady pro instruktsii tymchasovoho uriadu."] (5-8 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 193-6.

["Dopovid na kyiv. ob'iedn. zasid. TsK vsikh partii."] (28-9 Dec 1918). In **Dva goda revoliutsii na Ukraine**. By Rafes. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1920: 121-2, 125. [Admits conducting talks with Entente.]

["Dopovid na kyiv. ob'iedn. zbory prezydii i vykonavchykh komitetiv hrom. orhan."] (4? Apr 1917). **Russkoe slovo** (6? Apr 1917). [Not consulted.]

["Dopovid na kyiv. ob'iedn. zbory prezydii i vykonavchykh komitetiv hrom. orhan."] (4? Apr 1917). In **Narysy z istorii ukrainskykh vyzvolnykh zmahan**. By Mlynovetskyi. Vol 1. [Toronto], 1970: 156-7.

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New York: Vyd-vo Chartoryiskykh, 1969: 171-3.

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (May 1917). **Vestnik poltavskogo gubernskogo obshchestvennogo komiteta** (3 June 1917).

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (28 May 1917). **Robitnycha hazeta** 47.

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (30 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 96-7. Excerpts. [Kerensky is attacked and UTsR is call a legislative body with no power in its hands.]

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (31 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 99. Excerpts. [Against socialization of land, but in favour of its municipalization.]

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] (5 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 65. Excerpts. ["We are not marching on Russia with bayonets, but neither will we permit them to march on us."]

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] (6 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 66. Excerpts. [Calls on all repr. of SD parties to renounce ideas of annexation and support Ukr. repr. at Int'l peace talks.]

["Dopovid na pershomu zizdi vseukr. rady robitnychykh, viiskovykh i selianskykh dep."] (5 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 436-7. ["Bolsheviks are conducting a national struggle against Ukrainians."]

"Dopovid na pershomu zizdi vseukr. rady robitnychykh, viiskovykh i selianskykh dep."] (4 Dec 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. New York, 1969: 71.

["Dopovid na semii sesii UTsR pro diialnist Hen. Sek."] (29 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 342-3. [On the need for expanding the Gen. Sec. to include Secretariats for defence, commerce and means of communication.]

["Dopovid na shestomu kongresu USDRP"] (9 Jan 1919). In **V ohni i buri revoliutsii**. By Isaak Mazepa. Vol. 1. Munich: Prometei, 1950: 79-81.

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["Dopovid na tretomu vseukrainskomu viiskovomu zizdi."] "Promova holovy Hen. Sek. V. Vynnychenka na vidkryttia 3-ho Vseukrainskoho viiskovoho zizdu v Kyievi, 31 zhovtnia 1917," **Zasiv** 3 (Kharbin, 26 Nov 1917): 7-9.

["Dopovid na vseukr. robitnychomu zizdi."] (10-12 July 1917) In V.L. "Pershyi vseukr. robitnychyi zizd," **Robochyi narod** 43 (31 Oct 1917): 4. [Reply to Maievskyi re: the 2d Universal and power to Soviets.]

["Dopovid na vseukr. robitnychomu zizdi."] (11 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 166. [On the bolsheviks' agitation having some basis in fact.]

["Dopovid na zakrytomu zasidanni maloi rady v spravi formovannia novoho skladu Hen. Sek."] (11 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 204.

["Dopovid na zasid. Kyiv. vyk. kom., soiuz ob'ied. hrom. orhan."] (4 July 1917) **Kievskaia mysl** 163. [VV proposes that pressure be exerted to show bolshevizm that if it takes power, Ukr. Democracy is not on its side."]

["Dopovid na zasid. Kyiv. vyk. kom., soiuz ob'ied. hrom. orhan."] (4 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 152. [VV proposes that pressure be exerted to show bolshevizm that if it takes power, Ukr. Democracy is not on its side."]

["Dopovid na zasidanni maloi rady pro perehovory z Romuniieiu."] (21 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 397. ["We should recognize the massive support which the Sovnarkom has in Russia."]

["Dopovid na zasidanni maloi rady pro sklykannia ukrainskoho narodnoho soimu."] (10 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 287-8. ["Ukrainian Social Democrats are against state independence.."]

["Dopovid na zasidanni maloi rady v spravi formovannia novoho sekretariata."] (13 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 208.

["Dopovid na zasidannia osmoi sesii tsentralnoi rady pro diialnist vsikh sekretarstv."] (13 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 445. ["Ukraine is an oasis of order."]

["Dopovid na zasidanniu osmoi sesii tsen. rady."] (16 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 450. ["Yes, an oasis of order, in comparison with Russia.. Our bolsheviks are different.. progroms are due to bolsheviks..]

["Dopovid na Trudovim kongresi."] (23 Jan 1919). In **V ohni i buri revoliutsii**. By Isaak Mazepa. Vol. 1. Munich: Prometei, 1950: 88-91.

["Dopovid pro pytannia tsentralnoi vlady."] (10 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 370.

["Dopovid pro zasidannia vykonavchykh komitetiv."] (24 June 1917) [Mentioned in Manilov and Khrystiuk. Not consulted.]

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"Dramatychni tvory" SEE **Tvory**.

Dribni opovidannia. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907. [VV's third collection of stories.]

["Dribnytsia."] "Moie ostannie slovo: Opovidannia," **Nova hromada** 1 (Jan 1906); 4 (Apr? 1906); 5 (May? 1906); 6 (June? 1906). [Written in 1903-4.]

"Dribnytsia," in his **Tvory: Tom 4: Kuz ta Hrytsun**. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?]. 1st edition. [Formerly called "Moie ostannie slovo."]

["Dribnytsia."] [In Russian]
"Meloch," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigcizdatelstvo, 1915.

"Dribnytsia: Moie ostannie slovo," in his **Tvory: Tom 4: Kuz ta Hrytsun**. 2d edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 5-24.

"Dribnytsia: Moie ostannie slovo," **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** 121-143 (New York, 24 June 1920-July 1920): 2.

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"Dribnytsia," in his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

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"Druha storona medali: Strashnyi dokument" SEE "Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."

"Dumka pro sebe na time sviti," "Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro samohubstvo M. Khvylovoho i M. Skrypnyka," **Ukrainskyi holos** 45 (10 Nov 1971): 4; 46 (17 Nov 1971): 4.

"Dumky pro sebe na tim sviti," "Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro samohubstvo M. Khvylovoho i M. Skrypnyka," **Suchasnist** 9(129) (1971): 8-18.

"Dusha selianskoi natsii: Do rokovyny smerty T.H. Shevchenka," **Nova doba** 6 (10 Apr 1920): 1. ["No nation has been so oppressed because of the abundance of natural resources."]

"Dva epizoda" SEE "Rabyni spravzhnoho" [In Russian].

"Dva fronty," **Nova doba** 1 (6 Mar 1920): 1. ["On Directory and Petliurivshchyna; petit-bourgoise UTsR; world rev.; trade links with Russia; defends Russian workers.]

"Dva sprostovannia." [Excerpts] **Vpered** 1-2(14) (1951): 11-12; 3-4 (1951): 2-3.

"Dykhannia Moskvy: Zaiava zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskoi komunistychnoi partii." (Signed 1 Oct 1921) **Nova doba** 56 (22 Oct 1921): 1-3. (V. Vynnychenko and H. Palamar).

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"Dym," in his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

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"Dym: Rizdviana kazka," **LNV** 37, no. 1 (Jan 1907): 7-24.

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355-76.

"Dym: Rizviana kazka," **Robitnyk** 90-98 (14 July 1917-24 July 1917): 3.

"Dym: Rizdviana kazka," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 142-64.

"Dym: Rizdviana kazka," in his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Dyzharmoniia: Kartyna z zhyttia revoliutsioneriv," **Vilna Ukraina** 5-6 (1906).

Dyzharmoniia: Dramatychni kartyny na 4 dii. Kiev: Vik, 1907. [Signed by V. Dede in Zelenyi klyn, 4 June 1906.]

"Dyzharmoniia: Dramatychni kartyny na 4 dii" Staged: in 1925-1926 by the M. Zankovetska theatre.

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"Dyzharmoniia," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

"Ehrlich zu sich selbst" SEE "Chesnist z soboiu."

"Eki Argadas" SEE "Kuz ta Hrytsun" [In Tatar].

"Ekzamen Bohovi" SEE "U hrafskomu maietku."

"Emanatsiia vid emanatsii abo berlinski nevyniatka," **Nova doba** 41 (11 Dec 1920): 1-2. [On the UKP-SR split.]

"En Lutte" SEE "Borotba."

"Epizoda" SEE "Chudnyi epizod."

"Falshyve rozuminnia natsionalno-ukrainskoi derzhavnosty" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."

"Fedka-khalamidnik" SEE "Khvedko-khalamydnyk" [In Russian].

"Fedko der Lump" SEE Khvedko-khalamydnyk" [In German]

"Fedko-Khalamydnyk" SEE "Khvedko-Khalamydnyk."

"Fedko-lobuz" SEE Khvedko-khalamydnyk" [In Polish].

"Fedko-Mischievous Boy" SEE "Khvedko-Khalamydnyk."

Fedko-khalamydnyk: P'iesa na 4 rozdily i 9 odmin. Stage play by L. Bazhenova. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

"Feldfebelshchyna" SEE "Mnimyi hospodin."

"Filozofiia i etyka Shevchenka: Promova v 51 rokovyny smerty poeta," **Dzvin** 2 (1913): 88-93.

["Foreword.] [In Russian]. In his **Talisman**. Berlin: Izd-vo E.A. Gutnova, 1922.

"Glumlenie" SEE "Hlum" [In Russian].

"Golizna" SEE "Holota" [In Polish].

"Golytba" SEE "Holota" [In Russian].

"Granny's Gift" SEE "Khvedko-Khalamydnyk."

"Harhepa za kordonom" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."

"Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" SEE "Entreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi."

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"Hei, khto v lisi obizvysia," in his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 20-34. [Written in 1929.]

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"Hei, ne spytsia," in his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 81-143.

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"Hei, ty bochechko," in his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 35-52. [Written in 1928.]

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["Henii Ukrainy."] [In Russian]
"T.G. Shevchenko: K stoletnei godovshchene so dnia rozhdeniia," **Zavety** 2 (St. Petersburgh, Feb 1914): 1-8.

"Henii Ukrainy," **Dzvin** 2 (1914).

"Hlum: Lyst iz tiurmy," **Rada** 5 (6 Jan 1908): 1-3.

"Hlum," in his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

["Hlum."] [In Russian]

"Glumlenie," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

"Hlum," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 105-24.

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"Hlum," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

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"Hlum," in his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Holod," in his **Dribni opovidannia**. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 149-65.

["Holod."] [In Russian]
"Golod," **Kievskaia iskra** 2 (1908). (Translated by F. Havrysh.)

"Holod," **Robitnyk** 77 (Cleveland, 28 Apr 1917): 3; 78 (29 Apr 1917): 3; 30 (30 Apr 1917): 3.

"Holod," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 263-76.

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"Hunger," in his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

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In his **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1930. Translated from Ukrainian by D.A.

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"Hunger," **Their Land: An Anthology of Ukrainian Short Stories**. Jersey City: Svoboda, 1964: 167-76.

["Holod."] [In Portuguese]
"A Canoa No Mar: Contos Ucraianos," **A Fome**. Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Brasileira de Artes Graficas, 1972: 69-85.

"Holos rosiikoho Ukraintsia," **Ukrainskyi holos** 26 (28 June 1916). [This is his "V chem nasha sila?"]

"Holos ukraintsia: Z rozmovy z tov. V. Vynnychenkom," **Izvestiia** 127(974) (Moscow, 13 June 1920). [On the burning of Kiev by Polish legionnaires.]

"Holos ukraintsia: Z rozmovy z tov. V. Vynnychenkom," **Nova doba** 18 (3 July 1920): 1-2. [On the burning of Kiev by Polish legionnaires.]

"Holos Vynnychenka: Lyst do redaktsii," **Ukrainski visti** 50 (Neu Ulm, 19 June 1948): 4; 51 (23 June 1948): 3-4.

"Holota: Povist," **Kievskaia staryna** 1-2 (1905).

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["Holota"] [In Russian]
"Golytba," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 1.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

Holota ta inshi opovidannia. SEE **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

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"Holota" Staged:
in 1936 (Jan 19) in Windsor, Ontario.

"Hospod-Boh-Ivanyshche" SEE "Vichnyi imperativ."

"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1918? in Kiev by the "Molodyi teatr" by Hnat Iura.

Hrikh: Drama na try dii. Kiev-Leipsig: Nova Ukraina, 1920.

Hrikh: Drama na try dii. Kiev, 1922.

"Hrikh," **Nova Ukraina** 1-2 (Jan-Feb 1923): 4-55.

"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1923 (Apr 14) in Winnipeg.

"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1923 (Jan 27-8) in Kharkiv by the Teatr im. Lesi Ukrainky.

"Hrikh," in his **Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

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"Hrikh," in his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1933 (Apr 29) in East Killodan.

"Hunger" SEE "Holod" [In German]

"Iaka dumka V. Vynnychenka pro ukrainsku polityku?" SEE VV's "Iedynnyi rev-dem. nat. front."]

"Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front," **Nova Ukraina** (Jan-Feb 1923): 56-71.

["Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front."] "Iaka dumka V. Vynnychenka pro ukrainsku

polityku?" **Svoboda** (29,30,31 Mar 1923). [Part 2 of VV's "Iedyn. rev-dem. nat. front."]

["Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front."] "V. Vynnychenko pro radiansku Ukrainu," **Svoboda** (28 Mar 1923). [This is the introduction to his "Iedyn. rev-dem. nat. front."]

Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front. Prague-Berlin: Nova Ukraina, 1923.

"Ievreiske pytannia na Ukraini," **Nova Ukraina** 7-8 (1923): 20-31.

"Istoriia Akimova zdaniia" SEE "Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku" [In Russian].

"Istoriia s Kostei" SEE "Kumediia z Kostem" [In Russian].

"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku," **LNV** 58, no. 5 (May 1912): 193-220; (June 1912): 418-440.

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"Krasota i sila" SEE "Syla i krasa" [In Russian].

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"Lez" SEE "Brekhnia"

"Lozh" SEE "Brekhnia"

"Luch solntsa" SEE "Promin sontsia" [In Russian].

"Die Luge" SEE "Brekhnia" [In German].

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"Lyst cholovika do zhinky" SEE "'Umirkovanyi' ta 'shchyryi': Lyst cholovika do zhinky."

"Lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii" SEE "Otvertyi lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii."

"Lyst do komunistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky SEE his "Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky"

"Lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv" SEE his "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv"

["Lyst do politbiura KP(b)U"] (15 Sept 1933) [Quoted in P.P. Liubchenko, "Vohon po natsionalistychnii kontrrevoliutsii ta po natsional-ukhylnykakh," **Chervonyi shliakh** 11-12 (1933).]

"Lyst do redaktsii 'Kiievskaia mysl'" SEE "Vidkrytyi lyst do redaktsii 'Kiievskaia mysl'."

"Lyst do redaktsii," **Rada** 17 (4 Feb 1911): 4.

"Lyst do redaktsii," **Rada** 97 (12 May 1914): 4. [Denies leaving Ukrainian literature. Attacks "Ukrainska khata."]

"Lyst do redaktsii," **Rada** 144 (27 June 1914): 2-3; 145 (28

June 1914): 2-3. [Reply to Sriblianskyi's article "Te, shcho daie radist zhyttia." Criticism of "Ukrainska khata."]

"Lyst do redaktsii," **Borotba** 3 (Vienna, 20 Jan 1920): 1.

"Lyst do redaktsii," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 9 (3 Mar 1920): 4.

"Lyst do redaktsii," **Pratsia** 6 (Lviv, 17 Dec 1933).

"Lyst do redaktsii," **Ukrainska hromadska pora** 24 (Detroit, 17 June 1948): 3-4.

"Lyst do redaktsii" SEE ALSO "Holos Vynnychenka: Lyst do redaktsii."

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," **V ohni i buri revoliutsii.** By Isaak Mazepa. Vol. 3. Prometei, 1952: 58-60.

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," **Vpered** 250-252 (Lviv, 30 Oct - 3 Nov 1920).

["Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] History of this letter in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Ed. by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 470-2, 489. [He wanted to destroy it because he urged joining the UKP.]

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," **Narodna volia** 138 (18 Nov 1920): 2-3.

["Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] "Vol. VV pro radiansku vladu na Ukraini - II," **USPD**. Vol. 1. 1983: 462-71.

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," **Svoboda** 138 (15? Nov 1920).

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," **Nova doba** 34 (23 Oct 1920): 2-5.

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," in his **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!** Vienna-Kiev: Nova doba, 1920: 21-39.

["Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] "Lyst Vol. Vynnychenka do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian," **Ukr. holos** 47 (24 Nov 1920): 3.

["Lyst do Bahrianoho."] **Prometei** (27 Apr 1950). [Praises Bahrianyi's "Sad Hetsymanskyi."]

["Lyst do Chaplenka, Vasylia."] (12 June 1950). **Vilna Ukraina** 61 (1969): 40-1.

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (12 Jan 1909) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917**. By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 44-5. [Re: Chykalenko's criticisms of VV's "Memento."]

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (23 July 1912) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917**. By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 314-17.

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (30 Oct 1911) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917**. By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 240-1. [Got married, wants children, found happiness.]

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (12 Jan 1915) A. Zhuk archives, National Library of Canada, Ottawa. [Not consulted. Mentioned in D. Doroshenko, "Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny." p. 85.]

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (20? Nov 1915) Text in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny**. Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 85-8. [Re: "Slovo."]

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (22 Dec 1914) Text in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny**. Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 83-4.

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (5 Nov 1915) Excerpts in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny**. Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 85.

["Lyst do K.P. Vasylenka."] [In Russian] "Pismo k K.P. Vasilenko," **Russkoe slovo** 237 (17 Oct 1917): 5.

["Lyst do Lenina."] (1 June 1920). Quoted in V. Vynnychenko, "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu," **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 5-6.

["Lyst do Lenina."] (1 June 1920) Excerpts in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 432-3. [Sent to Lenin June 1 1920.]

["Lyst do Politbiura TsK UKP"] (26? Aug 1920) Excerpts in **Nova doba** 56 (Oct 1921): 1-3.

["Lyst do Radeka."] (15 July 1920) Mentioned in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Ed. by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 446. [VV asks for authorization

from the 3d Internl. to be a repr. in America.]

"Lyst do Stalina" SEE "Odvertyi lyst do Stalina i chleniv politbiura," **Trudova Ukraina** 6-7 (Prague, 1935).

"Lyst do T. Osmachky." Excerpts in **Plan do dvoru.** By T. Osmachka. Toronto: Vyd-vo Ukrainskyi Legion, 1951: 7, 183.

["Lyst do T. Osmachky."] "V. Vynnychenko pro deiaki nevidkladni spravy: Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do T. Osmachky," **Ukrainski visti** 80 (Neu Ulm, 2 Oct 1948): 3.

"Lyst do TsK RKP" (20 Sept 1920). SEE his "Ne u vsomu chesni z soboiu."

["Lyst do TsK USDRP"] (May 1919). Mentioned in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Ed. by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 351, 363. [On the need to orient to world revolution.]

["Lyst do Voropaia, Oleksy."] (6 Jan 1948) In **Iasyr.** Edited and compiled by Oleksa Voropai. London, 1966: 11-12.

"Lyst dribnoho burzhuia" SEE "Odvertyi lyst dribnoho burzhuia"

"Lyst holovi Dyrektorii Vol. Vynnychenka do komunistiv svitu" SEE "Odvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky."

["Lyst kyivskomu huberniialnomu komissaru."] (2 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 426-7. [Re: peasant committees taking unauthorized steps against the land holdings of Branitskyi.] (Heneralnyi Sekretariiat)

"Lyst nehidnyka." [Published on red paper and posted on the walls in Kiev in the summer of 1920. Mlynovetskyi, "Istoriia ukrainskoho narodu" (p. 590) could have been sarcastically referring to his other letters.]

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. New York, 1969: 188-90.

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] **Kiievskaia mysl** (Nov? 1917).

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] "V. Vynnychenko pro ukrainsku derzhavnist," **USPD.** Compiled by Hunczak & Solchanyk. Vol. 1. 1983: 322-5.

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] **Vistnyk soiuza vyzvolennia Ukrainy** 49 (2 Dec 1917): 771-2.

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] "Pohliad V. Vynnychenka na spravu ukrainskoi derzhavnosty," **Narysy z istorii ukrainskykh vyzvolnykh zmahan.** By R. Mlynovetskyi. Vol. 1. Toronto, 1970: 503-7.

"Lyst rosiiskym pysmennykam" SEE "Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam."

"Lyst ukrainskykh pysmennykiv, uchenykh, ta khudozhnykiv do ukrainskoho hromadianstva z pryvodu maibutnoho iuvyleiu d-ra Iv. Franka," **Ivan Franko: Dokumenty i materiialy.** 1966: 282-3. [VV's name left out.]

"Lyst ukrainskykh pysmennykiv, uchenykh, ta khudozhnykiv do ukrainskoho hromadianstva z pryvodu maibutnoho iuvyleiu d-ra Iv. Franka," **Dilo** (10 Feb 1912).

"Lyst ukrainskykh pysmennykiv, uchenykh, ta khudozhnykiv do ukrainskoho hromadianstva z pryvodu maibutnoho iuvyleiu d-ra Iv. Franka," **Ukrainska khata** (Mar-Apr 1912): 236. (VV, Kotsiubynskyi, Stefanyk, etc.]

"Lyst V. Vynnychenka do ekzekutyvy O.U," **Orhanizatsiini visti Oborony Ukrainy** 7 (Scranton, Sept 1939): 7-8.

"Lyst V. Vynnychenka do Gorkoho" SEE "Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho," **Ukrainski visti** 12 (Paris, 19 July 1928).

"Lyst V. Vynnychenka do rosiikykh pysmennykiv" SEE "Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam."

"Lyst V.K. Vynnychenka do I.P. Bahrianoho," **Novi dni** 136 (May 1961): 29-30.

"Lyst V.K. Vynnychenka do I.P. Bahrianoho," **Ukrainski visti** 14 (2 Apr 1961): 1; 15 (9 Apr 1961): 12.

"Lyst Vol. Vynnychenka do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian" SEE "Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."

"Lyst Zak. Grupy U.K.P. do komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky" SEE "Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi."

"Lyst Zak. Grupy U.K.P. do komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Evropy ta Ameryky" SEE ALSO "Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky."

"Lystuvannia, 1921-53." Ukrainian Archive of Mykyta

Shapoval. New York Public Library. [Not consulted.]

"Lysty do iunaka" SEE "Shchastia."

"Lysty do Bohatskoho." (1911-1912). Unavailable. Unpublished. [Concerning "Ukrainska khata's" anti-socialist, anti-democratic orientation.].

"Lysty do A. Prykhodka" SEE "Za dokumentalni dani."

["Lysty V.K. Vynnychenka do Smotrycha."] "Vynnychenkovi lysty do O. Smotrycha," **Novi dni** 84 (Jan 1957): 14-15.

"Lysty Volodymyra Vynnychenka do Ivana Manyla," **Novi dni** 149 (June 1962): 16.

"Lysty Volodymyra Vynnychenka do Mykhaila Sytnyka," **Novi dni** 8, no. 94 (Nov 1957): 10-14.

"Malenkaia chertochka" SEE "Malenka rysochka" [In Russian].

"Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok iz spomyniv," **Rada** 65 (31 Mar 1912): 2; 66 (2 Apr 1912): 2; 67 (3 Apr 1912): 2; 68 (4 Apr 1912): 2.

"Malenka rysochka," in his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st edition. Kiev: Dzvin, [1913].

["Malenka rysochka."] [In Russian]
"Malenkaia chertochka," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 4.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

["Malenka rysochka."] [In Russian]
"Malenkaia chertochka," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

"Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 113-34.

"Malenka rysochka," in his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Malenka rysochka," in his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Malenka rysochka," in his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'. Cover design by Zh. Tytarenko. [Kiev]: RUKH, [1927].

"Malenka rysochka," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

"Malenka rysochka," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Edited by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

["Malenka rysochka."] [In German]
"Die Kleine Runzel," in his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

"Malenke poiasnennia. **Ukrainski visti** (Neu Ulm, 10 Aug 1950).

"Malenkyi pryklad," **Nova doba** 9, no. 52 (26 Feb 1921): 3. [Written on 19 Feb 1921.]

"Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv" SEE "Saldatyky!: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv."

"Maloros-ievropyiets," in his **Dribni opovidannia**. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 132-48.

"Maloros-evropyiets," **Robitnyk** 74 (25 June 1917): 3; 75 (26 June 1917):; 3; 76 (27 June 1917): 3; 77 (28 June 1917): 3.

"Maloros-ievropyiets," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. 3d edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 249-62.

"Maloros-evropyiets," in his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

"Maloros-evropyiets," in his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Maloros-evropyiets," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

"Maloros-evropyiets," in his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Maloros-evropyiets. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

Maloros-ievropyiets. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

"Maloros-evropyiets," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Maloros-evropyiets," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Maloros evropyiets," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Edited by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

["Maloros-evropyiets."] [In German]
"Der Kleinrussische Europaer," in his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

["Maloros-evropyiets."] [In Bulgarian]
In his **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1930. Translated from Ukrainian by D.A.M.

"Maloros-evropyiets," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

"Maloros-ievropyiets," in his **Opovidannia**. Edited & compiled by Mykhailo Molnar. Priashiv, 1968: 110-18.

"Maniak bukhhalter," **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 5. [Says Petliura has "mania grandiosa."]

"Maniiak bukhhalter," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 21 (Winnipeg, 28 Apr 1920): 8.

["Marksyzm i mystetstvo"] "Sposterezhennia neprofesionala: Marksyzm i mystetstvo," **Robitnyk** 195 (16 Nov 1917): 2; 197 (19 Nov 1917): 2.

"Meloch" SEE "Dribnytsia" [In Russian].

"Memento," **LNV** 2 (Feb 1909): 241-303.

"Memento" Staged:
in 1923-24 by the M. Zankovetska Theatre.

"Memento," in his **Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento**. Kiev-Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 109-202.

"Memento," in his **Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

"Memento," in his **Tvory: Tom 10**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Memento," in his **Tvory: Tom 10**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

["Memorandum Tymchasovomu uriadu z pryvodu dopovnennia sklad Hen. Sekr."] **Narodna volia** no. 144.

["Memorandum tymchasovomu uriadu z pryvodu dopovnennia sklad Hen. Sek."] (13 Oct 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 293.

"Meta i zasoby," **Ukrainskyi holos** 21 (Winnipeg, 20 June 1936): 4.

"Meta i zasoby," **Vilna Ukraina** 19 (Trenton, 1958): 24-8.

"Mirandolina" SEE "Brekhnia" (staged under this title in 1918).

"Mishchanka" SEE "Nad: P'iesa"

"Mizh dvokh syl" Staged:
in 1918 (Dec) in Kiev.

"Mizh dvokh syl" Staged:
in 1919 in Zaltsvedel Camp by "Moloda Ukraina."

Mizh dvokh syl: Drama na chotyry dii. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

"Mizh dvokh syl," **Ukrainskyi holos** 46 (17 Nov 1920): 12; 47 (24 Nov): 12; 48 (1 Dec): 12; 49 (8 Dec): 13; 50 (15 Dec): 12; 51 (22 Dec 1922 [i.e. 1920]); and every week thereafter until 16 Mar 1921.

Mizh dvokh syl: Drama na chotyry dii. 2d edition. Edited with an introduction and the translation of the Russian passages by Vasyl Chaplenko. Toronto: Novi Dni, 1974.

"Mizh dvokh syl: Drama na chotyry dii," **Novi dni** 289 (Feb 1974): 3-7; 290 (Mar 1974): 11-15; 291 (Apr 1974): 5-10; 292 (May 1974): 14-17; 293 (June 1974): 3-8; 294 (July-Aug 1974): 7-11; 296 (Sept 1974): 3-6.

"Mnimyi hospodin: Opovidannia," **Kievskaia staryna** 4 (1905).

"Mnimyi hospodin: Opovidannia," in his **Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev, 1906.

["Mnimyi hospodin."] [In Russian]
"Mnimyi gospodin," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

"Mnimyi hospodin: Maliunok," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 236-59.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Book 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1926.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

"Mnimyi hospodin: Maliunok," **Satyra i humor: Almanakh-dekliamator**. Edited by V. Atamaniuk. Kiev, 1927.

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho pysmenstva, 195-6. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Edited by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

"Mnimyi hospodin," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

["Moie ostannie slovo."] SEE "Dribnytsia: Moie ostannie slovo."

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1915-16 in Saratov at the Ostrovskyi Theatre.

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Kiev by Sinelnikov at the Solovtsova Theatre.

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Samara by Lebedeva.

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Kharkiv by Sinelnikov.

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Baku by Polonskyi.

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Moscow at the Sukhodolskyi Theatre.

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Odessa by the Dramaticheskii Theatre.

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 (Dec) in Moscow by V. Maksimov at the Niezlobin Theatre.

Moloda krov. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

"Moloda krov," **Dzvin** 7-8 (July-Aug 1913).

Moloda krov. Kiev: Dzvin, 1914.

"Moloda krov" Staged:
in 1922 in Kiev.

"Moloda krov" Staged:
in 1923 (Jan 27-8) in Kharkiv by the teatr im. Lesi Ukrainky.

"Moloda krov" Staged:
in 1923 (Jan-Feb) in Kharkiv by the Kyivskyi derzhavnyi teatr im. T.H. Shevchenka.

Moloda krov. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

"Moloda krov" Staged:
in 1926 (6 Mar 1926) in Winnipeg.

"Moloda krov," in his **Tvory: Tom 14.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Moloda krov: P'iesa na chotyry dii," in his **Tvory: Tom 14: Dramatychni tvory: Moloda krov, Pryhvozhdeni.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927: 4-72.

"Molokh" SEE "Velykyi molokh"

"Moment: Z opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady," **Rada** 253 (10 Nov 1907): 2-3; 254 (11 Nov 1907): 2-3.

["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment," **Stolichnaia pochta** 216-17 (St. Petersburgh, 1907).

["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment," in his **Kuplia i drugie rasskazy.** Moscow: Polza, 1910.

["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment." Translated by M. Mohylianets. **Zhizn dlia vsekh**

7 (Petrograd, 1910).

"Moment," in his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

["Moment."] [In Russian]
Moment: Iz rasskazov tiuremnoi Shkherezady. Translated by M.K. Mukalov. Vladivostok: Tip. K.A. Nedzelskyi i ko., 1911.

["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment." Translated by M. Mukalov. **Okeanskii vestnik** 569-71 (Vladivostok, 1917).

"Moment: Z opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady," **Robitnyk** 2 11 Jan 1917): 4; 3 (18 Jan 1917): 3; 4 (25 Jan 1917): 3; 5 (1 Feb 1917): 4; 6 (8 Feb 1917): 4.

"Moment: Iz opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 85-104.

"Moment," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Moment," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Moment. Cover design by Zh. Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, [1927].

"Moment," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Moment," in his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Moment. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

["Moment."] [In Polish]
"Chwilka," in his **Opowiadannia**. Translated by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

["Moment."] [In English]
"Moments," **Svoboda: The Ukrianian Weekly** (Supplement) 32 (7 Aug 1950): 3; 33 (14 Aug 1950): 3; 34 (21 Aug 1950): 2; 35 (28 Aug 1950): 2.

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"Myru!" **Nova doba** 8 (24 Apr 1920): 2-3. ["Six years of war is enough!"]

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"Na storozhi narodnoi voli," **Robitnycha hazeta** 2 (31 Mar 1917): 1-2. (V.V.)

"Na terezakh zhyttia" SEE "Shchabli zhyttia"

"Na toi bik," **Nova Ukraina** 11 (Nov 1923): 109-206; 12 (Dec 1923): 189-233.

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"Nasha 'nahorna' propovid," **Robochyi narod** 16 (28 Apr 1917): 2. [Quotes from the bible to discredit religion.]

"Nasha 'nahorna' propovid," **Robitnyk** 102 (Cleveland, 28 July 1917): 2.

"Nashi pozytsii" SEE **Pered novym etapom: Nashi pozytsii.**

"Nashi organizatsiini zavdannia," **Nash holos** 2 (Lviv, 2 Dec 1910): 69-75. (V. Dede).

Nashi oriientatsii. [Lviv?]: USDP, 1914.

"Natus: P'iesa na 4 dii," **LNV** 60 (Dec 1912): 403-49.

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Natus: P'iesa na 4 dii. Lviv: Dzvin, 1925.

"Natus: P'iesa na 4 dii." Staged:
in 1925 (Oct 31) in Winnipeg.

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"Ne u vs'omu chesni z soboiu: Vyryvky z neposlanoho lysta do TsK RKP" **Nova doba** 39 (28 Nov 1920): 1-2. [Written 20 Sept 1920).

"Na [i.e. Ne] u v'somu chesni z soboiu: Vyryvky z neposlanoho lysta do TsK RKP" In his **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!** Vienna: 1920: 83-94.

"Nebezpechni nastroi," **Dilo** 138 (25 June 1926): 2; 139 (26 June 1926): 2.

"Nechto bolshee nas" SEE "Shchos bilshe za nas" [In Russian].

"Necklace" SEE "Namysto: Razok pershyi."

"Nepohaslyi vohon" SEE "Nepotukhshii ogon."

"Nepotukhshii ogon," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 8-9 (Aug-Sept 1915): 46-52. [Calls for the nationalization and Ukrainianization of schools. Written 1 Sept 1915. Iurkevych referred to it as a "rabska-natsionalna teoriia."]

["Nepotukhshii ogon."] "Nepohaslyi vohon," **Visnyk Soiuzu vyzvolennia Ukrainy** 13-14 (73-4) (13 Feb 1916): 97-99.

"Nepotribnyi pidrakhunok: Odvertyi lyst do redaktsii," **Ukrainski visti** 49 (Neu Ulm, 18 June 1950): 2.

"Neskolko slov o nashei molodezhi" SEE "Dekilka sliv pro nashu molod" [In Russian].

"Nevolnyk krasoty" SEE "Rab krasy" [In Russian].

"Nezhaslyi vohon" SEE "Nepotukhshyi vogon."

"Nich u tiurmi," **Ukrainskyi dekliamator: Rozvaha.** 2d ed. Compiled by Oleksa Kovalenko. Kiev: Iv. Samonenko, 1906: 243-4.

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"Noil e il mondo" SEE "Brekhnia" [In Italian].

"Nota uriadu UNR" SEE "Do narodivi svitu: Nota uriadu UNR."

["Nota Hen. Sek. pro zakliuchennia myru."] (9 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 442-3. [Reprinted from "Kievskaia mysl" (no. 291).]

"Nouveau commandement: Roman" SEE "Nova zapovid."

Nova Ukraina. Edited by V. Vynnychenko. Prague-Berlin,

1923-1924.

["Nova zapovid."] **Nouveau commandement: Roman.** Translated with an introduction by Suzanne Davon. Paris: Editions des Presses du Temps Present, 1949. (W. Winnitschenko)

Nova zapovid: Roman. [Neu Ulm?]: Ukraina, 1950.

"Nova zapovid: Roman," **Ukrainski visti** 5-26, 28-40 (15 Jan 1950-18 May 1950): pp. 2-4 or 3-4.

["Nova zapovid."] "Spravzhnie lytse stalinskoho komunizmu," **Skhidniak** (Supplement to "Novoe russkoe slovo") 22 (13 Jan 1953): 4; 24 (6 Feb 1953): 4.

"Novyi odvertyi lyst Vynnychenka" SEE "Odvertyi lyst."

"O morali gospodstvuiushchikh i morali ugnetennykh: Otkrytoe pismo moim chitateliam i kritikam" SEE "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh."

"Ob taktyku ukraintsiv v teperishnyi moment" SEE ["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."]

["Obizhnyk V. Vynnychenka huberniialnym i povitovym komisaram pro vystupy proty UTsR."] [In Russian] "Tsyrkuliar V. Vinnichenko gub. i uezd. kom. po voprosy o vystup. protiv Rady," **Kiievskaia mysl** (28 Sept 1917).

["Obizhnyk V. Vynnychenka huberniialnym i povitovym komisaram pro vystupy proty UTsR."] [In Russian] In **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros.** Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow, 1930: 189.

"Obruchenie" SEE "Zaruchyny" [In Russian].

"Odkrytyi lyst do rosiiskykh pysmennykiv" SEE "Otkrytoe pismo k Russkim pisateliam."

"Odvertyi lyst do redaktsii" SEE "Nepotribnyi pidrakhunok: Odvertyi lyst do redaktsii."

"Odvertyi lyst," **Vpered** (Lviv, 6 Aug 1921).

["Odvertyi lyst."] "'Novyi' odvertyi lyst Vynnychenka," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 62 (3 Aug 1921): 4.

"Odvertyi lyst do Stalina i chleniv politbiura," **Trudova Ukraina** 6-7 (Prague, 1935).

"Odvertyi lyst dribnoho burzhui," **Ukrainski visti** 63 (Paris, Mar 10 1928). [Signed 22 Feb 1928.]

"Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychena do M. Gorkoho," **Dilo** 170 (2 Aug

1928: 2-3.

"Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho," **Ukrainski visti** 72 (Paris, 19 July 1928): 3-4.

"Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychena do M. Gorkoho," **Novyi chas** 94-96 (Lviv, 6-10 Aug 1928).

["Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho."] "Ukraina i predstavnyk moskovskoi literatury," **Narodna volia** 47-50, 2-6 (Scranton, 7 Dec 1961-8 Feb 1962): pp. 5,6.

["Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho."] "Vynnychenko proty Horkoho," **Ukrainski visti** 29 (Detroit, 16 July 1980): 2-4, 6.

"Ofitsialnoe raz'iasnenie Gen. Sek. k 3-mu universalu Ts.R. 27 (14) noiabria" SEE "Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rossii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho tsentralnoho uriadu."] (23 Nov 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 403. [Repr. from "Nova rada" (no. 194).] (Hen. Sek.)

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rossii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho uriadu dlia tsiloi Rosii."] (5 Dec 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 439. [Repr. from "NV" (no. 176).] (Hen. Sek.)

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rosii pro stvorennia sots. tsen. uriadu] "V spravi myru vid Hen. Sek.: Do uriadiv respublik utvorenykh na terytorii Rosii," **Robitnycha hazeta** 212 (21 Dec 1917): 1.

"Oi, vypyla, vykhylyla.," in his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 53-80. [Written in 1929.]

"Oi, vypyla, vykhylyla," in his **Namysto**. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1976.

"Olaf Stefanzon," **Dzvin** 1 (Jan 1913): 8-19; 2 (Feb 1913): 60-79.

["Olaf Stefenzon."] [In Russian]
"Olaf Stefenson," in his **Sobranie sochinnenie: Tom 6: Rasskasy**. Moscow: Zemlia, 1915?: 61-132.

"Olaf Stefenzon," in his **Tvory: Tom 7**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

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"Olaf Stefenzon," in his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

"On the Path of Life" SEE "Rivnovaha"

"On Life's Scale" SEE "Rivnovaha"

["Opovidannia."] [In Latvian]
Stahsti. Riga: M. Tiller, 1912.

["Opovidannia."] [In Polish]
Opowiadania. Translated by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930. [Includes: Holota, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Brekhnia, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Moment, Kuplia.]

Opovidannia. Edited and compiled by Mykhailo Molnar. Priashiv: Slovatske Pedahohichne Vydavnytstvo, 1968. [Added title: "Poviedky."]

"Opovishchennia Heneralnoho Sekretariata pro perebrannia vlady v kraini" SEE "Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata (24 Sept 1917)."

"Ordre du front de Cholm et de Galicie," **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine**. Paris: Librairie du Trident, 1927: 33-4. (VV, Petliura, Andriievskyi, Shvets)

"Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam," **Den** 280. [1913?].

["Otkrytoe pismo k Russkim pisateliam."] "Lyst V. Vynnychenka do rosiiskykh pysmennykiv," **Rada** 240 (Kiev, 20 Oct 1913): 2-3.

"Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 10 (1913): 29-33. [Criticizes Russian writers for their (racist) portrayal of Ukrainians in their works.]

"Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** (Supplement to **Hun-Bao**) 926 (Kharbin, China, 16 Jan 1930): 3.

"Otkrytoe pismo moim chitateliam i kritikam" SEE "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh."

"Otryvok iz dnevnika" SEE "Taina" [In Russian].

"[Otvertyi] Lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii," **Nova doba** 13 (29 May 1920): 1-2.

"[Otvertyi] lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii," **Ukr. holos** 24 (23 June 1920).

"Otvertyi lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii." [Part 2 of his] **Politychni lysty.** Kiev-Vienna: [UKP, Zakordonna Hrupa], 1920.

["Otvertyi lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii."] "Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro radiansku vladu na Ukraini - I," **USPD.** Vol. 1. 1983: 457-62.

"Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv" SEE his "Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv"

"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky." [Part I of his] **Politychni lysty.** Kiev-Vienna: [UKP, Zakordonna Hrupa], 1920.

"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky," **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** 94 (New York, 22 May 1920): 2.

"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 27 (19 May 1920): 4.

"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky," **Nova doba** 8 (24 Apr 1920): 1-2. ["The only real gov't of Ukraine is the Workers'-Peasants' Gov't of the Ukr.SSR.]

["Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky."] "Uryvky z lysta Zakordonnoi Hrupy UKP do komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky, pysanyi Volodymyrom Vynnychenkom v 1920 rotsi," **Vpered** 1-2 (21-22) (1952): 3.

["Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky."] "Lyst holovy Dyrektorii Vol. Vynnychenka do komunistiv svitu," **Batkivshchyna** 18 (28 Sept 1968): 2, 4.

"Otvet Generalnoho Sekretariiata na ultimatum Soveta Nar. komissarov" SEE "Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."

"Ozhidanie" SEE "Chekannia" [In Russian].

"Panna Mara" Staged:

in 1917 (Fall) in Kiev at the Ukrainskyi derzhavnyi teatr. Costumes and set design by V.H. Krychevskyi.]

"Panna Mara: Komediia na 4 dii," **LNV** 2-3 (1918). [Written on a train between Sept-October 1917 during one of VV's trips to Petrograd.]

Panna Mara: Komediia na 4 dii. Kiev: Dzvin, 1918.

Panna Mara: Komediia na 4 dii. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Panna Mara," in his **Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

"Panna Mara," in his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Panna Mara," in his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

["Pana Mara."]
"Avtonomiia i kontrybutsiia," **Kalendar-almanakh ukrainskoho holosu na 1963 rik.** Winnipeg, 1963: 55-6. [Excerpt from act two of his "Panna Mara."]

"Panna Shtukarka" SEE "Panna Mara"

"Parliamentaryzm, demokratiia i bolshevyzm" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."

Pered novym etapom: Nashi pozytsii. Foreword by the Komitet vydannia tvoriv V. Vynnychenka. Toronto: Vpered, 1938.

Pered novym etapom: Nashi pozytsii. Foreward by K[yryl] S[tudynskyi]. Kolomyia: Ukrainska Partiia Nezalezhnykh Sotsiialistiv, Kraievyi Komitet, 1938.

"Pered provalliam," **Robitnycha hazeta** 315 (11 July 1918) ; 317 (14 July 1918). [VV may have been the author.]

"Pered provalliam," **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** By P. Khrytiuk. Vol. 3. New York, 1969: 85-6. [Excerpts. VV may have been the author.]

"Peremozhets," **Rada** (1913). [Dontsov took this story to be a personal attack on him (i.e. the character Tsviakh.]

["Peremozhets"] [In Russian]
In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

["Peremozhets."] [In Russian]
"Pobeditel," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

["Peremozhets."] [In Russian]
Pobeditel: Rasskaz. Universalnaia Biblioteka, 153. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1926.

[Perepysni lysty.] Vienna: USDP, 1914. [Is this his "Nashi oriientatsii"?]

["Peresliduvanni: Opovidannia."] [In Latvian]
Wajatee: Stajsto is kreewu rewoluzionaru dsihwes. Tulk. I.A. Bite. Wenden: A. Bite, 1913.

"Persha dekliariatsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata." [Dated 26 June 1917]. SEE ["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata."]

"Pershi literaturni kroky V. Vynnychenka" SEE "Poviia."

Pisnia Izraila. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [The typeface created for this work by V.H. Krychevskyi is considered his best.]

Pisnia Izraila: P'iesa na 4 dii. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930. [Original title: "Kol-Nidre."]

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1931 (July 4) in Windsor.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1931 (Dec 24) in Point Douglas.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1931 (Nov 5) in St. Boniface, Manitoba.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1932 (Nov 19) in East Killodan.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1933 (Apr 22) in Toronto.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1934 (Sept 29) in Transcona.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1935 (Nov 30) in Winnipeg.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1936 (Jan 4) in Winnipeg.

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1937 (Jan 30) in Calgary.

"Plebistsyt na Ukraini," **Orhanizatsiini visti Oborony Ukrainy** 2 (Scranton, Feb 1938): 3-6.

"Po-svii: Roman," in his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

["Po-svii!"] [In Russian]
"K svoim," **Zavety** 3 (Mar 1913): 11-51; 4 (Apr 1913): 49-72; 5 (May 1913): 13-45.

"Po-svii!" **Dzvin** 3-6 (1913).

Po-svii! SEE **Tvory: Tom** 7: **Po-svii!: Roman.** 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

"Po-svii!" in his **Tvory: Tom** 18. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Po-svii!" in his **Tvory: Tom** 18. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Po-svii!" in his **Tvory: Tom** 18. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Pobeditel" SEE "Peremozhets" [In Russian].

"Pohliad V. Vynnychenka na spravu ukrainskoi derzhavnosty" SEE "Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."

["Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."] "Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky," **Ukrainets na zelenomu klyni** 20 (Vladyvostok, 24 Dec 1917): 1. (VV, Lototskyi, Martos.)

["Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."] [In Russian]
"Ofitsialnoe raz'iasnenie Gen. Sek. k 3-mu universalu Ts.R. 27 (14) noiabria. **Kievskaia mysl** 273 (1917).

["Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."] "Tsyrkuliar - poiasnennia do III-oho universalu." (14 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 383-4.

["Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."] [In Russian]
"Ofitsialnoe raz'iasnenie Gen. Sek. k 3-mu universalu Ts.R. 27 (14) noiabria," **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 528-9. (VV, Martos, Lototsky)

["Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."] (10? Nov 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. New York, 1969: 58-9. (VV, Martos, Lototskyi).

"Poklady zolota: Uryvok," **Ukrainski visti** 56 (Paris, 3 Dec 1927).

"Poklady zolota: Roman." [Part I] **Pivnichne siaivo: Almanakh**. Vol. 5. Edited by Yar Slavutych. Edmonton:

Slavuta, 1971: 7-118. [Social-detective genre introduced into Ukr. lit. by VV. Part II never publ.]

"Poklyk Volodymyra Vynnychenka do ukrainskoi trudovoi demokratii," **Pravda** 35 (Winnipeg, 3 Nov 1937): 1, 4.

"Politychna oriientatsiia Volodymyra Vynnychenka," **Svoboda** 26 (Jersey City, 28 Feb 1920): 2.

"Politychne shulerstvo," **Nova doba** 8(51) (19 Feb 1921): 1. [Written on 12 Feb 1921.]

Politychni lysty. Kiev-Vienna: [UKP, Zak. Hrupa], 1920. [Contains his "Otvertyi lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukr. inteligentsii" & "Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sots. zakh. Evropy ta Ameryky."]

"Poltinnik" SEE "Pryhody pivkarbovantsia."

"Pomirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi'" SEE "Umirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi'". [The main character is based on an Ukrainian American Oleksander Borodai who re-emigrated to Ukraine ca. 1900.]

"Porada berlinskym ukrainskym komunistam," **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 4.

"Poriadnyi dim." [Mentioned in K. Kvitka, "Spohady Klymenta Kvitky pro Lesiu Ukrainku." p. 299.]

"Postannia Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."

"Postanova #3." (25 Dec 1918). In I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 98.

"Postanova #3." (25 Dec 1918). In **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Re: allocation of 2 million rubbles to military commission for soldiers interned in Austria and Germany.]

"Povesti i rasskazy" SEE **Obruchenie.**

["Povidomlennia tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi."] [In Russian] "Donesenie V.K. Vinnichenko Vremennomu pravitelstvu ob iiulskikh sobytiiakh v Kieve," **Kievskaia mysl** 164 (6 July 1917).

["Povidomlennia tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi."] (5 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 155-6. [Re: the Polubotkivtsi and their attempt to stage a coup. Repr. from "Kievskaia mysl" (no. 164)]

["Povidomlennia tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi."] [In Russian] "Donesenie V.K. Vinnichenko Vremennomu pravitelstvu ob iiulskikh sobytiiakh v Kieve," **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros.** Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow, 1930: 169.

"Poviedky" SEE **Opovidannia.**

"Poviia." [A poem written in the 1890s and published in 1929 under the title "Pershi literaturni kroky V. Vynnychenka."]

["Poviia."] "Pershi literaturni kroky V. Vynnychenka," **Ukraina** (1929): 77-88.

"Povisty i opovidannia. Lviv: Ukrainsko-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903.

Povorot na Ukrainu. Lviv: Hrupa Ukrainskoi Sotsiialistychnoi Molodi "Vilna Hromada," 1926.

Povorot na Ukrainu. Lviv-Pshibram: Hrupa Ukrainskoi Sotsiialistychnoi Molodi "Vilna Hromada," 1929.

Pratsia. 1910 (Edited? by V. Dede).

"Prigvozhdennie" SEE "Pryhvozhdeni."

"Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv," **Nash holos** 9-10 (1911): 451-79; 11-12 (1911): 529-64.

["Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh".] [In Russian] **O morali gospodstvuiushchikh i morali ugnetennykh: Otkrytoe pismo moim chitateliam i kritikam.** Translated from Ukrainian. Lviv, 1911. (V. Vinnichenko)

["Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblemykh."] [In Russian] "O morali gospodstvuiushchikh i morali ugnetennykh." **Novaia zhizn** (Sept 1911).

"Pro perebrannia vlady v kraini" SEE "Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata (24 Sept 1917)."

Pro Petliuru. Edited by B.S. Butnyk-Siverskyi. Winnipeg: Komitet Vydannia Tvoriv V. Vynnychenka, [1949?]

["Pro pohromy."] [Interpellation juive au petit Conseil (deposee le 19 decembre 1917 par N. Syrkine..)] In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine.** Paris, 1927: 238-9.

"Pro radiansku Ukrainu" SEE "Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front."

"Pro svoiu literaturnu tvorchist na emigratsii," **Ukrainski visti** 9 (Neu Ulm, 28 Jan 1948): 5.

"Pro ukraisnki misii" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."

"Pro ukrainsku polityku" SEE VV's "Iedynnyi rev-dem. nat. front."]

"Prokazhelnia." [Another name for his unpublished work "Leprozorii."]

"Proklamatsii" SEE "Zapysna knyzhka" [In Russian].

"Promin sontsia: Opovidannia," **Zasiv** 12 (1912).

["Promin sontsia."] [In Russian]
"Luch solntsa," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 4.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Tvory: Tom** 5. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

["Promin sontsia."] [In Russian]
"Luch solntsa," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

Promin sontsia. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919. [25,000 copies printed.]

"Promin sontsia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 76-86.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Kuz ta Hrytsun**. Odessa, 1919.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

Promin sontsia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Promin sontsia. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Temna syla**. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Edited by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

"Promin sontsia," in his **Opovidannia**. Edited by M. Molnar. Priashiv, 1968: 146-53.

"Promova holovy Heneralnoho Sekretariiata V. Vynnychenka na vidkryttia 3-ho Vseukrainskoho viiskovoho zizdu v Kyievi, 31 zhovtnia 1917" SEE "Dopovid na tretomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."

["Promova na derzhavni naradi."] (16 Jan 1919) In Panas Fedenko, **Isaak Mazepa: Borets za voliu Ukrainy**. London: Nashe slovo, 1954: 57-8.

["Promova na druhim ob'ied. zasid. rady soldatskykh i rob. dep."] (20 Apr 1917) Quoted in **Narysy z istorii ukrainskykh vyzvolnykh zmahan**. By Mlynovetskyi. Vol. 1. [Toronto], 1970: 134-5.

"Promova [na ob'ied. zasid. rady viiskovomu ukr. voien. okruhy i rady rob. dep."] (20 Apr/17) In R., S. "V. Vynnychenko i Mikhnovskyi v oboroni stvorennia polku im. B. Khmelnytskoho," **Vilna Ukraina** 54 (1967): 24-5.

["Promova na obied. zasid. vyk. kom. S.O.O.O. i preds. tsen. rady."] (20 June 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928. Kharkiv,

["Promova na obied. zasid. vyk. kom. S.O.O.O. i preds. tsen. rady."] (24 June 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Kharkiv, 1928: 135. [VV raises the question of organizing an organ to take all power in Ukraine.]

["Promova na pershim viiskomiv zizdi."] (8? May 1917) Quoted in **Narysy z istorii ukrainskykh vyzvolnykh zmahan**. By Mlynovetskyi. Vol. 1. [Toronto], 1970: 205-6. [Reprinted from "Vistnyk SVU," 156 (1917): 402-3.]

"Promova na shostomu kongresi USDRP"] (10-12 Jan 1919) **Robitnycha hazeta** 434 (16 Jan 1919). 1928: 128-9. [VV warns the Prov. Govt. that if the Gen. Sec. is not recognized, drastic steps will be taken.]

"Promova na shostomu kongresi USDRP"] (10-12 Jan 1919) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 4. New York, 1969: 50-2.

["Promova na Trudovim kongresi."] (25 Jan 1919) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 4. New York, 1969: 60-1.

["Promova na Trudovim kongresi."] (25 Jan 1919) **Chervonyi prapor** 2 (30 Jan 1918 [i.e. 1919]).

["Promova pidchas politychnoi prohulky po Dnipri, zorhanizovana vyk. kom. R.O.H.O"] (19 June 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 127-8. [VV on Ukr. bourgoisie; independence; 1st deleg. to Petrograd.]

"Promova V. Vynnychenka na 2-mu vseukrainskomu viiskovomu zizdi" SEE "Dopovid na druhomu vseukrainskomu zizdi."

"Prorok." Staged:
in 1931 (Feb 7) in East Killodan.

"Prorok." Staged:
in 1932 (Apr 30) in Winnipeg.

"Prorok." Staged:
in 1934 (May 13) in Kirkland Lake.

"Prorok." Staged:
in 1934 (Jan 27) in Winnipeg.

"Prorok." Staged:
in 1936 (Apr 4) in Port Arthur.

Prorok ta nevydani opovidannia. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk, V. Miiakovskyi, and V. Chaplenko. New York: Komisiia dlia Vyvchennia Spadshchyny V. Vynnychenka, 1960.

Proty Petliury. Introduction by V. Blakytnyi. Kiev: Vseukrainske Derzh. Vydavnytstvo, 1920.

"Pryhoda malenkoho mishchanstva," **Nova doba** 7 (17 Apr 1920): 1-2. [On Petliura's deal to split Ukraine into three parts.]

"Pryhody pivkarbovantsia." Staged:
in 1928 in [Kiev?].

"Pryhody pivkarbovantsia." [Film] Produced on 15 Feb 1929.Stage prod.: M. Bazhan. Director: A. Lundin. Kiev: Vseukr. F.K.U., 1929. [Based on his " ? ." Also called "Poltinnik" and "Zaradi poltinnika."]

["Pryhvozhdeni."] "Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Kharkiv by Sinelnikova.

["Pryhvozhdeni."] "Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Tiflis in the Teatr Gitaevoi by the Tirto Society.

["Pryhvozhdeni."] "Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Moscow by Teatr Nezlobina.

["Pryhvozhdeni."] "Prigvozhdennie." Staged:

in 1915-17? in Samara by Teatr Lebedeva.

["Pryhvozhdeni."] "Prigvozhdennie." Staged: in 1915-17? in Kiev by Sinelnikova.

["Pryhvozhdeni."] "Prigvozhdennie." Staged: in 1915-17? in Petrograd by Teatr Nezlobina.

["Pryhvozhdeni."] "Prigvozhdennie." Staged: in 1916 in Saratov by the Ostrovskyi Theatre.

"Pryhvozhdeni," **Promin** 2-4 (11 Dec. 1916): 1-10; 5-6 (1 Jan 1917): 1-11; 7-8 (7 Jan 1917): 1-14. [A play also called "Rozp'iati." Completed 28 Sept 1915.]

["Pryhvozhdeni."] [In Russian] "Prigvozhdennie," **Lozh: Chernaia pantera: Prigvozhdennie.** Moscow: "Zemlia", 1917. [Includes: "Brekhnia," "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" and "Pryhvozhdeni".]

["Pryhvozhdeni."] [In Russian] "Prigvozhdeni," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

["Pryhvozhdeni."] [In Russian] "Prigvozhdeni," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1918.

"Pryhvozhdeni," in his **Tvory: Tom 14.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Pryhvozhdeni: P'iesa na chotyry dii," in his **Tvory: Tom 14.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1927: 72-171.

"Pterodaktili" SEE "Pterodaktyli" [In Russian].

["Pterodaktyli."] [In Russian] "Pterodaktili," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 4-5 (Moscow, Apr-May 1916): 96-105.

"Rab krasoty" SEE "Rab krasy" [In Russian].

"Rab krasy," **Vilna Ukraina** 5-6 (1906). [This issue of "Vilna Ukraina" was confiscated.]

"Rab krasy," in his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 107-31.

["Rab krasy."] [In Russian] "Rab krasoty," **Niva** 43 (St. Petersburgh, 25 Oct 1908): 737-40.

["Rab krasy."] [In Russian]

"Rab krasoty," **Novyi zhurnal dlia vsekh** 23 (St. Petersburgh, Sept 1910): 59-76.

["Rab krasy."] [In Russian]
"Nevolnyk krasoty," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

"Rab krasy: Opovidannia," **Robitnyk** 71 (21 June 1917): 3; 72 (23 June 1917): 3; 73 (24 June 1917): 3; 74 (25 June 1917): 3.

"Rab krasy," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 228-48.

"Rab krasy," in his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

"Rab krasy," in his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 2**. Kiev: Chas, 1926.

Rab krasy. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

"Rab krasy," in his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Rab krasy," in his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Rab krasy," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Rab krasy," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Rab krasy," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

Rab krasy. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 241-3. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929. [Contains his "Rab krasy" and "Khto voroh?"]

"Rab krasy," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Rab krasy," in his **Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

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"Rab krasy," in his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

"Rab krasy," in his **Opovidannia**. Edited and compiled by Mykhailo Molnar. Priashiv: Slovatske Pedahohichne Vydavnytstvo, 1968: 59-73.

"Rabyni spravzhnoho," **Rada** 271 (2 Dec 1907): 2-3.

"Rabyni spravzhnoho," in his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev: 1910.

["Rabyni spravzhnoho."] [In Russian]
"Dva epizoda," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

"Rabyni spravzhnoho," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Vienna-Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 125-42.

"Rabyni spravzhnoho," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Rabyni spravzhnoho," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

"Rabyni spravzhnoho," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Rabyni spravzhnoho," in his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Radio-Harmata" SEE "Vichnyi imperativ."

"Radist," **Dzvin** 1 (1914).

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 9**. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915.

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 9**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 121-72.

"Radist," **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** (Oct 12-19 1920).

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 7**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

["Radist."] [In Russian]
Radost. Universalnaia Biblioteka, 159-60. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1926.

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

["Radist."] [In Russian]
"Radost," in his **Obruchenie**. Kharkiv: Ukrainskii Rabochii, 1927.

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Radist. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 78-80. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Radist," in his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

"Radost" SEE "Radist" [In Russian].

"Rano vtomliuvatys," **Robitnycha hazeta** 369 (Mar [i.e. Sept.] 17 1918.

"Rano vtomliuvatys," **Visnyk polityky, literatury i zhyttia** 38 (22 Sept 1918): 521-2.

"Rano vtomliuvatys." Excerpts in **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 3. New York, 1969: 89, 149-50.

"Rano vtomliuvatys," **USPD**. Vol. 1. Edited by Hunczak and Solchanyk. New York, 1983: 401-3.

"Rasskazy" SEE ALSO "Sobranie sochinenii: Rasskazy"

Rasskazy: Tom 1. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, [1911].

Rasskazy: Tom 2. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1912. [Dribnytsia, Kontrasty, Taiemna pryhoda, Zapysna knyzhka, Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, Rabyni spravzhnoho, Kuz ta Hrytsun.]

Rasskazy: Tom 3. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913. [Fedko-khalamydnyk, Krasa i syla, Mnimyi-hospodin, Zina, Bilia mashyny, Taiemnist, Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku.]

Rasskazy: Tom 4. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, [1913]. [Talisman, Khvostati, Chekannia, Promin sontsia, Taina, Malenka rysochka, Khto voroh, Kumediia z Kostem, Bazar.]

Rasskazy: Tom 5: Na vesakh zhizni. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

Rasskazy: Tom 6. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, [1915]. [SEE his "Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6"].

Rasskazy: Tom 9. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915.

"Ravnovesie" SEE "Rivnovaha"

"Razok namysta." See "Namysto: Razok pershyi."

"Rech V. Vinnichenko na 2 vseukrainskom voiskovom s'ezde" SEE "Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdu." [In Russian].

"Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!" (9 Nov 1920) **Nova doba** 37 (13 Nov 1920): 1-2; 38 (20 Nov 1920): 2-4; 39 (28 Nov 1920): 2-4. [Does not include his "Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] (VV & Levynsky)

Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi! Lyst Zak. Grupy U.K.P. do komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky. Vienna-Kiev: Nova doba, 1920. [Includes his "Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."]

["Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!"] [In French]
La Revolution en Danger! La Lettre du Parti Communiste ukrainien, Groupe Etranger aux Communistes et Socialistes de l'Europe et de l'Amerique. Vienna, 1920.

["Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!"] [In German]
Die Revolution in Gefahr. Ein offener Brief der Auswartigen Gruppe der Ukr. Kom. Partei an die Kommunisten und revolutionaren Sozialisten Europas und Amerikas. Wien, 1921.

["Rezoliutsiia na pershomu ukrainskomu viiskovomu zizdi."] (6 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 67.

["Rivnovaha."] [In Russian]
"Na vesakh zhizni: Roman," **Zemlia: Sbornik** 9 (Moscow, 1912): 27-292. [Also known as "Rivnovaha," "On Life's Scale," and "On the Path of Life."]

"Rivnovaha: Roman," in his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Kiev, 1913.

["Rivnovaha."] [In Russian]
"Na vesakh zhizni," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 5.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913. [Also called "Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 5."]

Rivnovaha. Translated from Russian by N. Romanovych. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

["Rivnovaha."] [In Russian]
"Na vesakh zhizni," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

"Rivnovaha: Roman z zhyttia emigranta," in his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 3-274.

"Rivnovaha," in his **Tvory: Tom 17.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Rivnovaha," in his **Tvory: Tom 17.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Rivnovaha," in his **Tvory: Tom 27.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928? [This is his "Na vesakh zhizni."]

"Rivnovaha," in his **Tvory: Tom 17.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Rivnovaha," in his **Tvory: Tom 17.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

Robitnycha hazeta. Edited by V. Vynnychenko. Kiev, 1917.

Roboty: Opovidanie. Chernivtsi: I. Viglier, 1903. (V. Dede)

"Roboty!" in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

"Roboty!" in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Roboty!" in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Roboty! Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

"Roboty!" in his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Roboty!" in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

Rozlad i pohodzhennia: Vidpovid moim prykhylnykam i neprykhylnykam. Regensburg: Nasha Borotba, 1948.

["Rozlad i pohodzhennia."] "Zapovit bortsiam za vyzvolennia," **Skhidniak** (Supplement to **Novoie russkoie slovo** New York, July 19 1952). [Published in 1948 under title: "Rozlad i pohodzhennia".]

"Rozlad i pohodzhennia: Vidpovid moim prykhylnykam i neprykhylnykam," **Ukrainske hromadske slovo** 7 (July 1954): 153-7.

["Rozlad i pohodzhennia."] "V. Vynnychenko pro D. Dontsova," **Vilna Ukraina** 1 (Detroit, 1954): 54-5.

["Rozmova po priamomu linii."] (7 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 441. [Demands recog of the UNR; explains neutrality re: Don and bolsheviks.]

["Rozmova z Hetmanom."] **Vistnyk polityky, literatury i zhyttia** 43 (1918): 567.

["Rozmova z spivrobitnykom 'Robitnychoi hazety'"] **Robitnycha hazeta** (20? Oct 1918).

"Rozmova z tov. V. Vynnychenkom" **Nova doba** 23 (7 Aug 1920): 3-6.

"Rozp'iati" SEE "Pryhvozhdeni."

"RD" SEE "Zakon."

Saldatyky!: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. Chernivtsi: Selianyn, 1903. (V. Dede)

Saldatyky!: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. [s.l.]: Borotba, 1906. (V. Dede).

Saldatyky!: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. Chernivtsi: Selianyn, [1911]. (V. Dede).

Saldatyky! Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

Saldatyky! Petrograd: Drukar, [1918?].

Saldatyky! Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

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"Talisman," in his **Tvory: Tom 9**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 207-46.

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"Telehrama do Chicherina" SEE "Vidpovid Chicherinomu."

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"Temna syla: Z natury," in his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 32-47.

["Temna syla: Z natury."] [In Russian]
Golos provintsii (Uman, ca. Jan-Mar 1911). [Editor of the paper was sent to prison for 2 weeks for publishing this story.]

"Temna syla: Z natury," **Robitnyk** 62 (11 June 1917): 3; 63 (12 June 1917): 3; 64 (13 June 1917): 3.

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in 1919 (Oct 25) in Winnipeg.

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"Temna syla," in his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

"Temna syla," in his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 2.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

"Temna syla," in his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

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"Temna syla," in his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

Temna syla. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 95. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928. [Contains "Temna syla" and "Promin sontsia".]

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"Der Blinde Kraft," in his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

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"Temna syla," in his **Opovidannia**. Edited by M. Molnar. Priashiv, 1968: 154-62.

"Teren," **Dzvin** 10 (1913): 260-78; 11 (1913): 384-93.

"Teren" [In Russian]
In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Moscow: Zemlia, 1915?: 133-69.

"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 9**. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915: 139-66.

"Teren," **Robitnyk** 202 (24 Nov 1917): 3; 203-209 (Dec 1917): 3.

"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 9**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 173-206.

"Teren," in his **Talisman: Opovidannia**. Foreword by P. Horetskyi. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1921.

"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

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Teren. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 58-9. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

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"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Teren," in his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

"The Jewish Problem in the Ukraine" SEE "Ievreiske pytannia na Ukraini."

"Der Theaterunternehmer Garkun-Sadunajskij" SEE "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" [In German]

"Tiuremna Shekherezada" SEE "Moment: Iz opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady"

"To, chto vyshe nas" SEE "Shchos bilshe za nas" [In Russian].

Tretia knyzhka opovidanniv. Kiev, 1910. [Actually his fourth collection of stories.]

"Try tysiachi shukachiv," **Robitnycha hazeta** 15 (18 Apr 1917): 2-4.

"Tsepi" SEE "Lantsiuh" [In Russian].

["Tsilkom taiemno."] [In German] In **Ein Brunnen Fur Durstige und Andere Ukrainische Erzaehlungen**. Translated and compiled by Anna-Halia Horbach. Stuttgart,1970.

"Tsyrkuliar - poiasnennia do III-oho universalu" SEE "Poiasnennia do tretoho universalu."

"Tsyrkuliar V. Vinnichenko gubernskim i uezdnym komissaram po vorprosu o vystupleniiakh protiv Rady" SEE "Obizhnyk V. Vynnychenka huberniialnym i povitovym komisaram pro vystupy proty Ukrainskoi Tsentralnoi Rady."

"Tvory" SEE ALSO "Rasskazy."

["Tvory: Tom 1"] Kiev, 1906. SEE **Krasa i syla ta inshi**

opovidannia. Kiev, 1906.

Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919. [Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, Bilia mashyny, Kontrasy, Mnimyi hospodin, Krasa i syla, Zaruchyny?]

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923. [Includes: "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi."]

Tvory: Tom 1. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926. [Contains his "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," "Holota," "Bilia mashyny," "Mnimyi hospodin."]

Tvory: Tom 1. Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926. [Includes: "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi."]

Tvory: Tom 1. Book 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926. [Includes: "Bilia mashyny," "Holota," "Mnimyi hospodin."]

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. Kiev: RUKH, 1928. [Includes: "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," "Bilia mashyny," "Holota," "Kontrasty," "Krasa i syla," "Mnimyi hospodin," "Zaruchyny."]

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930. [Includes: "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, "Holota," "Bilia mashyny," "Mnimyi hospodin."]

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931. [Antreprenor, Bilia mashyny, Borotba, Holota, Kontrasty, Krasa i syla, Mnimyi hospodin, Narodnyi diiach, Roboty, Saldatyky, Sud, Zaruchyny.]

["Tvory: Tom 2"] Kiev, 1907. SEE **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907.

Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923. [Chest, Dym, Holod, Khto voroh?, Lantsiuh, Maloros-evropyiets, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Saldatyky, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi'.]

Tvory: Tom 2. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 2. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Dym," "Temna syla," "Khto voroh?" "Na prystani," "Umirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi'," "Rab krasy," "Maloros-evropyiets," "Holod," "Chest," "Lantsiuh."]

Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Chest, Dym, Holod, Khto voroh?, Lantsiuh, Maloros-evropyiets, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi'.]

Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929. [Chest, Dym, Holod, Khto voroh?, Lantsiuh, Maloros-evropyiets, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi'.]

Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. Cover M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932. [Chest, Dribnytsia, Dyzharmoniia, Holod, Khto voroh? Kuz, Lantsiuh, Maloros, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Shchabli, Student, Taiemna pryhoda, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi.]

Tvory: Tom 3: Borotba ta inshi opovidannia. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924. [Moment, Hlum, Rabyni spravzhnoho, Zapysna knyzhka, Kuplia, Kumediia z Kostem, Shchos bilshe za nas, Zina, Slipyi.]

Tvory: Tom 3. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Moment," "Hlum," "Rabyni spravzhnoho," "Zapysna knyzhka," "Kuplia," "Kumediia z Kostem," "Shchos bilshe za nas," "Zina."]

Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Moment, Hlum, Rabyni spravzhnoho, Zapysna knyzhka, Kuplia, Kumediia z Kostem, Shchos bilshe za nas, Zina.]

Tvory: Tom 4. 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?].

Tvory: Tom 4: Kuz ta Hrytsun i inshi opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 4. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Dribnytsia," "Student," "Kuz ta Hrytsun," "Taiemna pryhoda," "Chudnyi epizod," "Taina."]

Tvory: Tom 4. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927. [Chudnyi epizod, Dribnytsia, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Student, Taiemna pryhoda, Taina.]

Tvory: Tom 5. 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1913]. [Contains "Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku," "Promin sontsia," "Fedko-khalamydnyk," "Malenka rysochka," "Chekannia," "Taiemnist," "Vyryvok z 'spomyniv."]

Tvory: Tom 5: Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku i inshi opovidannia. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924. [Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku, Promin sontsia, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Malenka rysochka, Chekannia, Taiemnist, Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'.]

Tvory: Tom 5. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku," "Promin sontsia," "Fedko-khalamydnyk," "Malenka rysochka," "Chekannia," "Taiemnist," "Vyryvok iz 'Spomyniv'"]

Tvory: Tom 5. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927. [Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku, Promin sontsia, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Malenka rysochka, Chekannia, Taiemnist, Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'.]

Tvory: Tom 6. Kiev, 1913. [Contains his "Rivnovaha."]

Tvory: Tom 6: Rivnovaha: Roman z zhyttia emigrantiv. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924. [Bosiak, Teren, Talisman.]

Tvory: Tom 6. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Bosiak," "Radist," "Teren," "Talisman."]

Tvory: Tom 6. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Bosiak, Radist, Teren, Talisman.]

Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930. [Bosiak, Radist, Teren, Talisman.]

Tvory: Tom 7. Kiev, 1913. [Contains his "Po-svii."]

Tvory: Tom 7. Kiev: Dzvin, 1914. [Contains his "Po-svii."]

Tvory: Tom 7: Po-svii!: Roman. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925. [Includes: "Olaf Stefenzon," "Radist," "Baryshenka," and "Babusyn podarunok."]

Tvory: Tom 7. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Olaf Stefenzon," "Baryshenka," "Babusyn podarunok," "Slipyi," "Na loni pryrody," "U hrafskomu maietku."]

Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyn. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyn. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyn. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930. [Includes: "Olaf Stefenzon,""Baryshenka," "Babusyn podarunok," "Slipyi," "Na loni pryrody," "U hrafskomu maietku."]

Tvory: Tom 8. Kiev? 1915? [No reference for this item anywhere.]

Tvory: Tom 8: Bozhky: Roman. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 8: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925. [Includes: "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Sud," "Khoma Priadka."]

Tvory: Tom 8. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Saldatyky," "Sud," "Narodnyi diiach," "Priadka," "Khvostati."]

Tvory: Tom 8. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyna. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928. [Includes: "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Sud," "Khoma Priadka," "Saldatyky," "Narodnyi diiach," "Khvostati."]

Tvory: Tom 8. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyna. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928. [Includes: "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Sud," "Khoma Priadka," "Saldatyky," "Narodnyi diiach," "Khvostati."]

Tvory: Tom 9. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915. [Contains his "Bosiak," "Radist," "Teren," "Talisman."]

Tvory: Tom 9. Moscow, 1916. [Contains his "Khochu."]

Tvory: Tom 9: Bosiak i inshi opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 9: Dramatychni tvory: Dyzharmoniia, Shchabli zhyttia. ("Dyzharmoniia," "Shchabli zhyttia.") Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926. [Part of a collection of his works entitled "Dramatychni tvory".]

Tvory: Tom 9: Dramatychni tvory: Dyzharmoniia, Shchabli zhyttia. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 10: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento.

Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 11: Khochu: Roman. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory: Brekhnia, Spivochi tovarystva. Kiev-Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory: Brekhnia, Spivochi tovarystva. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 13: Dramatychni tvory: Chorna pantera, Natus, Dochka zhandarma. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 13: Dramatychni tvory: Chorna pantera, Natus, Dochka zhandarma. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 14: Dramatychni tvory: Moloda khrov, Pryhvodzheni. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 14: Dramatychni tvory: Moloda krov, Pryhvozhdeni. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, [1926].

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

Tvory: Tom 19: Bozhky: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 19: Bozhky: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 20: Khochu! Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 20: Khochu! Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 20: Khochu! Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 22: Zapovit batkiv: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 23: Soniachna mashyna. 3 vols. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

Tvory: Tom 23: Soniachna mashyna. 3 vols. 3d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1930.

Tvory: Tom 24 SEE HIS **Namysto: Razok pershyi.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

["U hrafskomu maietku."] **V hrafskomu maietku.** Kiev, 1926.

"U hrafskomu maietku," in his **Tvory: Tom 7.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Work begun on it in Aug 1918 under the title of "Ekzamen Bohovi."]

"U hrafskomu maietku," in his **Tvory: Tom 7.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"U hrafskomu maietku," in his **Tvory: Tom 7.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"U hrafskomu maietku," in his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

"U molotikti" SEE "Bilia mashyny" [In Russian]

"Ukrainska tsentralna rada i tymchasovyi uriad Rosii" SEE "Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vykonavchomu komitetovi rady robitnychykh ta soldatskykh dep."

"Ukraina i predstavnyk moskovskoi literatury" SEE "Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho."

"Ukrainska oriientatsiia," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 7.

"Ukrainska tsentralna rada i my," **Robitnycha hazeta** 20 (25 Apr 1917): 2.

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"Ukrainska derzhavna vlada," **Nova doba** 3 (20 Mar 1920): 1-2.

"Ukrainska derzhavnist," **Nova doba** 1 (6 Mar 1920): 2-7. [Explains why monarchists and social democrats cannot build an independent Ukraine.]

Ukrainska derzhavnist. Vienna-Kiev: Nova doba, 1920.

"Ukrainska komunistychna partiia (UKP) i Komunistychna partiia (bolshevykiv) Ukrainy (KP(b)U)," **Nova doba** 47 (22 Jan 1921): 1-2; 48 (29 Jan 1921): 2-4.

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"Ukrainska kontrerevoliutsiia," **Nova doba** 55 (19 Mar 1921): 1-3. [Written 10, 12 Mar 1921.]

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["Universal - tretii."] [In English] "Universal of the Ukrainian National Council, (20 Nov 1917)," **Text of the Ukrainian 'Peace'**. Cleveland: John T. Zubal, Inc., 1981: 5-7.

"Uryvky z lysta Zakordonnoi Hrupy UKP do komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Evropy ta Ameryky" SEE "Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky."

"Utopiia i diisnist," **Nova doba** 2 (13 Mar 1920): 1. [Explains why petty-bourgeois groups are utopian thinking that capitalist powers will bring independence to Ukraine. Re: world revolution.]

"Uvedomlenie gen. sek. ot 16(3) noiabria o perekhode vlasti na Ukraine v ruki sekretariata." (3 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 525. (Gen. Sekr. Ukrainy.) [Repr. from "Kievskaia mysl." no. 265.]

["V chem nasha sila?"] "V chim nasha syla?" **Shliakhy** 2 (31 Dec 1915).

"V chem nasha sila?" **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 7 (July 1915): 13-18.

["V chem nasha sila?"] "Holos rosiikoho Ukraintsia," **Ukrainskyi holos** 26 (28 June 1916).

["V chem nasha sila?"] **V chim nasha syla: Statti z 'Ukrainskoi zhizni'**. Katerynoslav: Prosvita, [1918?].

"V chim nasha syla" SEE "V chem nasha sila?"

"V politbiuro KP(b)U." [Written in Russian in Sept 1933. This is his "Lyst do politbiura TsK KP(b)U"]

"V spravi myru vid Hen. Sekretariiata" SEE "Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rosii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho tsentralnoho uriadu."

"V spravi utvorennia federalnoho pravytelstva: Nota Heneralnoho Sekretariiata," **Robitnycha hazeta** 202 (9 Dec 1917): 3.

"V Hrafskomu maietku" SEE "U hrafskomu maietku."

"V. Vynnychenko do ukrainskykh komunistiv v Amerytsi. SEE "Zaklyk Z.G.U.K.P do amerykanskykh robitnykiv ukrainstiv."

"V. Vynnychenko pro deiaki nevidkladni spravy: Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do T. Osmachky" SEE "Lyst do T. Osmachky."

"V. Vynnychenko pro radiansku Ukrainu" SEE "Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front."

"V. Vynnychenko pro radiansku vladu na Ukraini" SEE ALSO "Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."

"V. Vynnychenko pro radiansku vladu na Ukraini" SEE "Lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii."

"V. Vynnychenko pro sebe" SEE "Za iaku Ukrainu: V. Vynnychenko pro sebe."

"V. Vynnychenko pro ukrainsku derzhavnist" SEE "Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."

"V. Vynnychenko pro sebe i pro ukrainskykh 'odnobichnykiv'," **S'ohodni** 2 (Augsburg, Dec 1947): 4-6.

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"Velykyi molokh," in his **Tvory: Tom 10.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Velykyi molokh," in his **Tvory: Tom 10.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

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Velykyi portret V. Vynnychenka. Kiev: Robitnycha Hazeta, 1918.

"Vichnyi vohon," **Promin** 1-2 (Moscow, 14 Jan 1917): 20-1.

"Vichnyi imperatyv." [Excerpts written in Sept-October 1919. Unpublished. Originally called "Boh-Ivanyshche", later "Hospod Boh-Ivanyshche," later "Radio-Harmata," and finally "Vichnyi imperatyv."]

["Vichnyi imperatyv."] In his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** By V. Vynnychenko Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 45, 415, 424. [Previously called "Boh-Ivanyshche," excerpts of this story are found here.]

"Vid prezydii Ukrainskoho natsionalnoho soiuzu," **Robitnycha hazeta** 411 (8 Nov 1918): 1; 412 (9 Nov 1918): 1.

"Vid Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky," **Robitnycha hazeta** 421 (26 Dec 1918): 3.

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky" SEE "Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky," **Robitnycha hazeta** 215 (24 Dec 1917): 1.

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky," **Robitnycha hazeta** 199 (5 Dec 1917): 1.

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky," **Robitnycha hazeta** 186 (16 Nov 1917): 2.

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky," **Robitnycha hazeta** 217 (30 Dec 1917): 2. [Denial of any resposibility for the arrest of L. Piatakov and other bolsheviks. (V.V. and M. Tkachenko).

"Vidkrytyi lyst do 'Kiievskaia mysl'" SEE "Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."

"Vidkrytyi lyst rosiiskym pysmennykam" SEE "Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam."

"Vidkrytyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Horkoho" SEE "Odvertyi lyst do M. Gorkoho."

["Vidozva do hromadianstva Ukrainy."] (30 Nov 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 2. By P. Khrystiuk. New York, 1969: 79-81. (Vynnychenko and I. Mirnyi.)

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"Vidozva Heneralnoho Sekretariiata do soldativ zakhidnoho i pivnichnoho frontu," **Robitnycha hazeta** 207 (15 Dec 1917): 3.

["Vidozva Heneralnoho Sekretariiata do narodiv Rosii."] (6 Dec 1917) In **Kievskaia mysl** 290 (6? Dec 1917).

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["Vidpovid Chicherinomu."] (9 Jan 1919). In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3.** By V. Vynnychenko. Vienna, 1920: 213-18. (Vynnychenko, Petliura, Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Shvets, Chekhovskyi.)

["Vidpovid Chicherinomu."] (9 Jan 1919) "Telegrama do Chicherina." In **Velyka revoliutsiia.** By Mykyta Shapoval. Prague: Vilna Spilka ; Ukrainskyi Robitnychyi Universytet, 1927: 132-3.

["Vidpovid Chicherinomu."] (9 Jan 1919). In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 4. By P. Khrystiuk. New York, 1969: 37-8. (VV, Petliura, Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Chekhovskyi.)

"Vidpovid Heneralnoho Sekretariiata na ultymatum Rady narodnykh komisariv" SEE "Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."

["Vidpovid Litvakovomu."] (21 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 454. [Concerning the searches in the "Fransua" and "Semaden" restaurants.]

"Vidpovid moim prykhylnykam i neprykhylnykam" SEE his **Rozlad**

i pohodzhennia: Vidpovid moim prykhylnykam i neprykhylnykam.

["Vidpovid na notu Rady Narodnykh Komisariv"] (9 Jan 1919). SEE "Vidpovid Chicherinomu."

["Vidpovid Sorokinomu pro prohromy."] (19 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 453. [Mentioned. "All measures are taken to assign troops to put an end to pogroms."]

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] "Vidpovid Heneralnoho Sekretariiata Sovitovi Narodnykh Komisariv," **Robitnycha hazeta** 216 (29 Dec 1917): 3.

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] [In Russian] "Otvet Generalnogo Sekretariiata na ultimatum Soveta Nar. komissarov," **Pravda** 209 (Moscow, 21 Dec 1917): 1-2.

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] [In Russian] "Otvet Generalnogo Sekretariiata na ultimatum Soveta Nar. komissarov," **Novaia zhizn** 196 (21 Dec 1917): 3.

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] (4 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 433-4. [Repr. from "Litopys revoliutsii" no. 2 (1925)] (VV and Petliura)

"Vidpovid V. Vynnychenka" SEE "Do oseredku URDP 'Dunai'."

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1."] "Vol. Vynnychenko pro Kerenskoho," **Ukrainski visti** 1-2 (Neu Ulm, 1951): 11-12; 3-4 (1951): 2-3. [Pages 308-10 of vol 1 of "Vidrodzhennia natsii."]

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["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Narode Ukrainy!" in **Ukrainski visti** 4 (23 Jan 1983): 1. [Pages 244-245 of vols 2 of "Vidrodzhennia natsii."]

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Viina z Sovitskoiu Rosiieiu," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 56 (Winnipeg, 28 Aug 1920): 2. [Pages 133--151 of vol. 2.]

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Parliamentaryzm, demokratiia i bolshevyzm," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 31 (Winnipeg, 2 June 1920): 3; 32 (5 June 1920): 3.

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Postannia Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky," **Suchasna Ukraina** 25 (3 Dec 1952): 9.

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Falshyve rozuminnia natsionalno-ukrainskoi derzhavnosty," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 21 (28 Apr 1920): 3; 22 (1 May 1920): 3; 23 (5 May): 3; 29 (26 May 1920): 5; 30 (29 May 1920): 3.

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2"] "Myr z tsentralnymy derzhavamy: 'Vidrodzhennia natsii' II tom," **Beresteiskyi myr**. Compiled by I. Kedryn. Lviv-Kiev: Chervona Kalyna, 1928: 167-78.

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["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Harhepa za kordonom," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 23 (Winnipeg, 5 May 1920): 4-5.

"Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3," **Ukrainskyi holos** (7 Apr 1920 - 10 Nov 1920).

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro ukrainski misii," **Svoboda** 55 (Jersey City, 6 May 1920): 2. [Pages 419-29 of vol. 3.]

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Kuluarno-naftiani 'patrioty-vozhdi,'" **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 20 (Winnipeg, 24 Apr 1920): 3.

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Zamist derzhavnosty -- Petliurivshchyna," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 27 (Winnipeg, 19 1920): 5.

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3"] "Savietska Ukraina v svitli pravdy," **Svoboda**. 1920.

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3"] "Zamists derzhavnosty -- petliurivshchyna: Uryvok z 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," **Nova doba** 7 (17 Apr 1920): 3-5. [Pages 375-82 of "Vidrodzhennia natsii."]

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3"] "Kuluarno-naftiani 'patrioty-vozhdi': Vyryvok z 'Vidrodzheniia natsii'," **Nova doba** 3 (20 Mar 1920): 3-5. [On the servilizm of Galician politicians. Excerpts

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3"] "Harhepa zakordonom: Vyryvok z 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'," **Nova doba** 5 (3 Apr 1920): 3-5. [Excerpt of vol. 3, pp. 419-29. Makes fun of the Ukrainian foreign missions.]

Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3. New York: M.S. Ch[artoytskyi], 1968.

Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1920.

"Viina z Sovitskoiu Rosiieiu" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."

["Viiut vitry, viiut buini."] [In French]
"Au souffle des vents, des vents furieux..'" **L'Ukraine Nouvelle** 1-2, no. 9 (June 1928 - June 1929). [Signed V. Vinnitchenko.]

"Viiut vitry, viiut buini.," in his **Namysto**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 7-19.

["Viiut vitry, viiut buini.."] [In French]
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"Vnutrishnie stanovyshche v Rosii i na Ukraini ta iedynyi ukr. revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi front." Speech delivered in Prague, 11 Feb. 1924. Excerpts in L. D., "Prazhskyi lyst," **Litopys** 9 (1 Mar 1924): 131-2.

"Vol. Vynnychenko pro Kerenskoho" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1."

"Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro samohubstvo M. Khvylovoho i M. Skrypnyka," **Ukrainskyi holos** 45 (10 Nov 1971): 4; 46 (17 Nov 1971): 4.

"Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro samohubstvo M. Khvylovoho i M. Skrypnyka," **Suchasnist** 9 (1971).

"Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro ukrainski misii" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."

"Vsesvitnia revoliutsiia," **Nova doba** 7 (17 Apr 1920): 4-6.

Vsesvitnia revoliutsiia. Kiev-Vienna: Nova Doba, 1920.

"Vsim do hanebnoho stovpa pryhvozhdennym," **Nova doba** 5 (3 Apr 1920): 5. [A short note daring the Ukrainian SDs (Porsh, Baran, Petliura, Makarenko, Sknar, Didushok) to take **Nova doba** to court for slander.]

"Vsim do hanebnoho stovpa pryhvozhdennym," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 24 (Winnipeg, 8 May 1920): 2.

Vybrani tvory: Tom 1. Kiev: Chas, 1926.

Vybrani tvory. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Edited by V.

Arnoutov, O. Popov. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1927.

Vybrani tvory. Compiled and foreword by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

Vybrani tvory. Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929. [Includes: "Holota," "Bilia mashyny," "Khto voroh?" "Na prystani," "Rab krasy," "Kuz ta Hrytsun."]

Vybrani tvory. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929. [Kumediia z Kostem, Fedko, Babusyn podarunok, Na prystani, Bilia mashyny, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Holod, Mnimyi hospodin, Temna syla, Zina, Student, Saldatyky, Promin sontsia, Talisman, Malenka rysochka, Shchos bilshe za nas, Khto voroh? Maloros-evropyiets.]

["Vybrani tvory."] [In Bulgarian] **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930. Translated from Ukrainian by D.A.M. [Includes VV's "Student," "Holod," "Saldatyky," "Maloro-evropyiets," "Na prystani."]

["Vybrani tvory."] [In German] **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1930. [Holod, Zina, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Saldatyky, Talisman, Malenka rysochka, Temna syla, Khto voroh? Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, Maloros-evropyiets.]

Vybrani tvory. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931. [Contains: Holota, Bilia mashyny, Khto voroh? Na prystani, Rad krasy, Kuz ta Hrytsun.]

"Vynnychenkivtsiam v albom" SEE "Antantsko-ukrainska komediia"

"Vynnychenko pro Petliuru" SEE "Pro Petliuru."

"Vynnychenko proty Horkoho" SEE "Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho."

"Vynnychenko proty Petliury" SEE "Proty Petliury."

"Vynnychenkovi lysty do O. Smotrycha" SEE "Lysty V.K. Vynnychenka do Smotrycha."

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (9, 16, 19 June and 31 Aug 1920) In his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." (Part 2) In **Nova doba** 41 (11 Dec 1920): 3-4.

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (12 Sept 1920) In his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." (Part 3) In **Nova doba** 42 (18 Dec 1920): 3-5.

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (3 June 1920) In his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." (Part 1) In **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 4-6.

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (9, 16, 19 June and 31 Aug 1920) In his **Shchodennyk, 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 435-7; 439-44; 473-4.

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (3 June 1920) In his **Shchodennyk, 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980.

"Vyryvky z neposlanoho lysta do TsK RKP" SEE "Ne u v'somu chesni z soboiu: Vyryvky z neposlanoho lysta do TsK RKP"

"Vyryvky z shchodennyka" SEE "Taina."

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'" SEE ALSO "Malenka rysochka"

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," **Nash holos** 6-8 (1911): 311-27.

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kiev: Dzvin, [1913].

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 1st ed. Kiev, [1913?].

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 189-208.

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Vyryvok z 'Spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'," in his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

"Wajatee" SEE "Peresliduvanni: Opovidannia" [In Latvian].

"Wes ist der feind?" SEE "Khto voroh?" [In German]

"Z druhoho lysta V. Vynnychenka do predstavnykiv ukrainskykh sotsiial-demokrativ." (18 Feb 1937) In **Orhanizatsiini visti Oborony Ukrainy** 4 (Scranton, Apr 1937): 5-6.

["Z istorii ukrainskoi revoliutsii."] [In Russian]
"Iz istorii ukrainskoi revoliutsii," **Revoliutsiia na Ukraine po memuaram belykh.** Moscow: Gos. Izd-vo., 1930: 277-358.

"Z lysta V. Vynnychenka: Ioho dumka pro dekliaratsiiu Ukrainskoi Natsionalnoi Rady" SEE "Do oseredku URDP 'Dunai'."

"Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do odnoho z providnykiv ukrainskykh sotsial-demokrativ u Prazi." (13 Feb 1937) In **Orhanizatsiini visti Oborony Ukrainy** 4 (Scranton, Apr 1937): 5.

"Z lystiv do redaktsii," **Ukrainska hromadska pora** 38 (Detroit, 20 Sept 1945): 1.

"Z lystiv studenta" SEE **Borotba: Z lystiv studenta, zaslanoho v saldaty.**

"Z opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady" SEE "Moment: Z opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady."

"Z promovy tov. V. Vynnychenka: Vyholoshenoi na robitnychim sviati u L'vovi v rokovyny smerty Tarasa Shevchenka," **Robitnyk** 11 (Cleveland, 15 Mar 1917): 2-3.

"Z pryvodu areshtu chleniv Ts.K. partii ukrainskykh eseriv," **Nova doba** 52 (26 Feb 1921). (Anon.)

"Za derzhavnu voliu Ukrainy: Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do frantsuzkykh politykiv," **Orhanizatsiini visti Oborony Ukrainy** 3 (Scranton, Mar 1940): 4-5.

"Za dokumentalni dani: Z lystuvannia V. Vynnychenka z A. Prykhodkom u spravi povorotu na Rad. Ukrainu," **Dilo** 256 (14 Nov 1925): 2-5.

Za iaku Ukrainu. Paris, 1934.

"Za iaku Ukrainu: V. Vynnychenko pro sebe," **Pravda** 13 (Winnipeg, 31 Mar 1937): 4.

"Za ob'iednannia vsikh syl natsionalnoho kolektyvu," **Novyi chas** 100 (Lviv, 6 May 1936): 2-3.

"Za Sybirom sontse skhodyt," in his **Namysto.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 231-60.

"Za Sybirom sontse skhodyt," in his **Namysto.** Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1976.

["Zaiava."]
"Do TsK komunistychnoi partii (bilshovykiv) Ukrainy --

chlena zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskykh komunistiv Volodymyra Kyrylovycha Vynnychenka: Zaiava," **Komunist** 5 (1920). [Signed 6 Sept 1920.]

"Zaiava." (Dated July-Aug 1921) Quoted in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 2.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1983: 12.

["Zaiava."] "Do TsK komunistychnoi partii (bilshovykiv) Ukrainy -- chlena zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskykh komunistiv Volodymyr Kyrylovycha Vynnychenka: Zaiava," **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 62 (3 Aug 1921): 4.

["Zaiava."]
"Do TsK komunistychnoi partii (bilshovykiv) Ukrainy -- chlena zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskykh komunistiv V.K. Vynnychenka: Zaiava," **Chervonyi shliakh** 4-5 (1923): 119(1)-119(4).

"Zaiava," **Nova Ukraina** 7-8 (1923): 286. (Dated 6 Sept 1920).

"Zaiava," S.V. Pylypenko, "Vynnychenko i Kurakh: Dokumentalna istoriia z komentaramy S. Pylypenka," **Chervonyi shliakh** 4-5 (1923): 116.

["Zaiava hen. sekr. tymchasomovu uriadi v spravi sklykannia ukrainskoho narodnoho soiumu."] (17 Oct 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine**. Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 297.

["Zaiava na zasidanni maloi rady z pryvodu Kyivskykh podii."] (2 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 425-6. [Re: disarming of bolshevik troops; denial of secret talks; rumours of war with Russia..]

["Zaiava na zasidanni predstavnykiv bankiv, tsukrozavodi."] (11 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 378-9.

"Zaiava pro vnutrishnie i mizhnarodnie stanovyshche Ukrainy." (Oct 1918) See **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 3. By P. Khrystiuk. New York, 1969: 112. (Vynnychenko and P. Didushok.)

["Zaiava v spravi interviu iz frantsuzkym korrespondentom."] (10 Aug 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by Manilov. Moscow, 1928: 202.

["Zaiava zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskoi komunistychnoi partii."] SEE "Dykhannia Moskvy." (Signed 1 Oct 1921)

"Zaklyk hrupy ukrainskykh konkordystiv" SEE "Do vsikh ukrainskykh hrup i hromadskykh techii v emigratsii sushchykh zaklyk hrupy ukrainskykh konkordystiv."

"Zaklyk Z.G.U.K.P. do amerykanskykh robitnykiv ukraintsiv," **Narodna volia** 155 (Scranton, 28 Dec 1920): 2.

["Zaklyk Z.G.U.K.P. do amerykanskykh robitnykiv ukrainstiv."] "V. Vynnychenko do ukrainskykh komunistiv v Amerytsi," **Svoboda** 155 (25 Dec 1920). (Vynnychenko and V. Levynskyi).

"Zaklyk Z.G.U.K.P. do amerykanskykh robitnykiv ukraintsiv." (1 Dec 1920). **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 3-4. (Vynnychenko and V. Levynskyi).

Zakon: P'iesa. Translated into Russian. Berlin: Vozrozhdenie, 1922. [Originally entitled "RD".]

"Zakon," **Nova Ukraina** 3 (Mar, 1923): 1-31; 4 (Apr 1923): 1-26.

Zakon: P'iesa na 4 dii. Prague: Nova Ukraina, 1923.

"Zakon," in his **Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

"Zakon," in his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

"Zakon," in his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

"Zakon: P'iesa na 4 dii." Staged:
in 1949 (Apr 3) in Paris by the Ukrainian Theatrical Ensemble (B. Dniprovyi and Ievhen Chaika).

"Zakon pro mistsevi kongresy i rady trudovoho narodu," **V ohni i buri revoliutsii.** Vol. 3. By Isaak Mazepa. Munich: Promotei, 1952: 170-2. (Vynnychenko, Makarenko, Andriievskyi, Shvets).

"Zakon pro posylku do Frantsii, Belhii ta Italii i Anhlii ta Ameryky dvokh nadzvychainykh torhovelno-finansovykh misii," I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 105-112.

"Zakon pro posylku do Frantsii, Belhii ta Italii i Anhlii ta Ameryky dvokh nadzvychainykh torhovelno-finansovykh misii," **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich, 1980: 198-9. (Makarenko, Petliura, Shvets, V.V.]

"Zakon pro sluzhbu v derzhavnykh ustanovakh uriadovtsiv chuzhozemnykh piddantsiv." (1 Jan 1919) **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Reprinted from I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 98.]

"Zamist derzhavnosty -- Petliurivshchyna" SEE "Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."

["Zamist peredmovy."] [In Russian] "Vmesto predisloviia," in his **Talisman**. Translated by R. Vynnychenko. Berlin: Izd-vo E.A. Gutnova, 1922: 7-11.

Zapiski kurnosogo Mefistofelia. SEE "Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia".]

"Zapisnaia knizhka" SEE "Zapysna knyzhka" [In Russian].

"Zaporizka sich." [Written in 1894. Unpublished.]

["Zapovit batkiv."] **Zavety ottsov**. 1913.

["Zapovit batkiv."] "Zavety ottsov," **Zemlia** 14 (Moscow, 1914): 97-286.

Zapovit batkiv. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1922.

Zapovit batkiv. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Zapovit batkiv," in his **Tvory: Tom 22**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Zapovit bortsiam za vyzvolennia" SEE "Rozlad i pohodzhennia".

"Zapyska ukrainskoi tsentralnoi rady tymchasovomu uriadu" SEE "Dokladna zapyska."

"Zapysky delegatsii" SEE "Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu.."

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Uryvok," **Promin** 1-2 (1917): 1-12; 3-4 (1917): 3-14.

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In Russian] "Zapiski kurnosogo Mefistofelia: Roman," **Zemlia** 20 (Moscow, 1917): 5-269.

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia," **LNV** 67, (July-Sept 1917): 21-73; 180-222; (Oct-Dec 1917): 24-91. (1917).

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In Russian] **Zapiski kurnosogo Mefistofelia**. Translated by R.V. Berlin: Olga Diakova and Co., 1922.

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia. Liaptsig: Ukrainska Nakladnia, 1923.

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia," in his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Kiev: RUKH, 1926.

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman," in his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia. Kharkiv: Proletarii, 1927.

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia. Kiev-Liaptsig: Ukrainska Nakladnia, [1927?].

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia. Introduction by And. Richytskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia," in his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia," in his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia."] [In Russian]
Zapiski kurnosogo Mefistofelia. Translated from Ukrainian. Edited by I. Aizenshtok. Kharkiv: Proletarii, 1928.

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Foreword by And. Richytskyi. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In Yiddish] Kharkiv, 1929.

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia. Introduction by A. Richytskyi. Knyhospilka, 1930.

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In Slovak]
Zapisky piknoseho Mefista. Bratislava: Narodni Vyd. Spolochnost, 1933.

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia."] [In Czech]
In **Narodni listy**. Translated by Bozhena Holechkova. Prague, 1934.

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia."] ALSO excerpts in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980.

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"Zapysna knyzhka," **Kubanskyii kurier** 166 (8 Apr 1909).

"Zapysna knyzhka," in his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

["Zapysna knyzhka."] [In Russian]
"Proklamatsii," **Utro Rossii** 178 (Moscow, 1910).

["Zapysna knyzhka."] [In Russian]
"Zapisnaia knizhka," in his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1912.

"Zapysna knyzhka," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 143-59.

Zapysna knyzhka. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

"Zapysna knyzhka," **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** 166-9 (17-20 Aug 1920): 2.

"Zapysna knyzhka," **Ukrainskyi smikh: Zbirnyk satyry, humorystyky i satyry ukrainskoho pysmentstva: Knyha 1.** Edited by O. Karashkevych. Stanyslaviv-Kolomyia: Bystrytsia, 1921: 23-34.

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"Zapysna knyzhka," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

Zapysna knyzhka: Opovidannia. Biblioteka Knyhospilky. Seriia humoru i satyry, 3. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1925.

"Zapysna knyzhka," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

"Zapysna knyzhka," in his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Zapysna knyzhka," in his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Zapysna knyzhka," in his **Opovidannia**. Edited by M. Molnar. Priashiv: Slovatske Pedahohichne Vydavnytstvo, 1968: 89-100.

Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv, 1923.

"Zaradi poltinnika" SEE "Pryhody pivkarbovantsia."

"Zaruchyny: Opovidannia," **Na vichnu pam'iat Kotliarevskomu.** Kiev: Vik, 1904.

"Zaruchyny: Opovidannia," in his **Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1906: 66-123.

["Zaruchyny."] [In Russian]
"Obruchenie," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6:**

Rasskazy. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia**. Kiev-Vienna, 1919: 66-123.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom** 1. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom** 1. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom** 1. Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

["Zaruchyny."] [In Russian]
Obruchenie: Povesti i rasskazy. Foreword by Andrii Richytskyi. Cover design by Strakhova. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom** 1. 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom** 1. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

"Zaruchyny," in his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

"Zavdannia suchasnoho momentu," **Nova doba** 52 (26 Feb 1921): 1-2. [Written 14 Feb 1921.]

"Zavety ottsov" SEE "Zapovit batkiv."

["Zina."] [In Russian]
"Zina." Translated by M. Shapoval. In **Kievaskaia iskra** 44 (1909).

"Zina," **LNV** 47, no. 9 (Sept 1909): 385-97.

["Zina."] [In Russian]
"Zina," in his **Kuplia i drugie rasskazy**. Moscow: Polza, 1910.

"Zina," in his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

["Zina."] [In German]
"Sina: Eine Erzahlung von Wolodymyr Wynnytschenko." Translated by Olga Huzar-Pawluch. In **Ukrainische Rundschau** 9-10 (Vienna, 1910): 246-51; 11-12 (1910): 278-84.

["Zina."] [In Russian]
"Zina," in his **Rasskazy: Tom** 3. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

["Zina."] [In Russian]
"Zina," in his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

"Zina," in his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 234-51.

"Zina," in his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

"Zina," in his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

"Zina," in his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

"Zina," in his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Zina," in his **Vybrani tvory.** Edited by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

"Zina," in his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

["Zina."] [In German]
"Sina," in his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

"Zina," in his **Opovidannia.** Edited and compiled by Mykhailo Molnar. Priashiv: Slovatske Pedahohichne Vydavnytstvo, 1968: 119-31.

Zina. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

"Zlochynstvo." [Unpublished. Started on 2 Aug 1915.]

"Zlochynstvo." Excerpts in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 216-19.

"Znamenna podiia," **Nova Ukraina** 6 (June 1923): 8-27. [Re: "Chervonyi shliakh".]

Znamenna podiia. Prague-Berlin, 1923.

["Zvertannia Dyrektorii do kozakiv i ievreiv."] **Nova rada** (19 Jan 1919).

"Zvertannia Dyrektorii do kozakiv i ievreiv: Telehrama 14 sichnia 1919 roku," **Respublikanski visti** 37 (Vynnytsia, 18 Jan 1919). [Dated 11 Jan 1919.]

"Zvertannia Dyrektorii do kozakiv i ievreiv: Telehrama 14 sichnia 1919 roku," **Symon Petliura: Statti, lysty, dokumenty.** Vol. 2. New York, 1979: 353. (Vynnychenko, Shvets, Petliura, Andriievskyi, Makarenko.)

"Zvidomlennia V.K. Vynnychenka Tymchasovomu uriadu pro lypnevi podii v Kyievi" SEE "Povidomlennia tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi."

APPENDIX 2: A Chronological Listing of Vynnychenko's Works

1894

1894/00/00/

"Zaporizka sich." [Written in 1894. Unpublished, unavailable.]

1898

1898/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" [Written some time around 1898, after the author's wanderings over Ukraine.]

1899

1899/00/00/

"Poviia." [A poem written in the 1890s and published in 1929 under the title "Pershi literaturni kroky V. Vynnychenka."]

1901

1901/00/00/

"Narodnyi diiach: Opovidannie." [Written in 1901 while in law school at Kiev University.]

1902

1902/05/00/

"Sud." [Written after the spring? of 1902.]

1902/08/00/

"Syla i krasa." **Kievskaia staryna** 78, no. 1-2 (July-Aug 1902): 227-81.

1902/12/00/

"Bilia mashyny." **Kievskaia staryna** 79, no.12 (Dec 1902): 435-58. [Many of the characters are based on people Vynnychenko met in 1900? such as later Ukrainian-Hungarian communists? e.g. Stanyk.]

1903

1903/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Povisty i opovidannia.** By V.V. and V. Dede. Lviv: Ukrainsko-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 102-57.

1903/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Povisty i opovidannia.** By V.V. and V. Dede. Lviv: Ukrainska-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 158-81.

1903/00/00/

"Borotba." In his **Povisty i opovidannia.** Lviv: Ukrainska Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 1-101. (V.V. and V. Dede).

1903/00/00/

Borotba: Opovidanie. Lviv-Chernivtsi: R.U.P., 1903. (V. Dede).

1903/00/00/

Povisty i opovidannia. Lviv: Ukrainsko-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903.

1903/00/00/

Roboty: Opovidanie. Chernivtsi: I. Viglier, 1903. (V. Dede)

1903/00/00/

Saldatyky!: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. Chernivtsi: Nauka i Rozvaha, 1903. (V. Dede)

1903/00/00/

"Sud." In his **Povisty i opovidannia.** Lviv: Ukrainsko-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 260-82.

1903/00/00/

Sud: Opovidannia. Chernivtsi, 1903.

1903/00/00/

"Syla i krasa." In his **Povisty i opovidannia.** Lviv: Ukrainsko-Ruska Vydavnycha Spilka, 1903: 192-259.

1903/03/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi: Opovidannia." **Kievskaia staryna** 80, no.3 (1903): 395-438.

1903/03/00/

"Narodnyi diiach: Opovidannie," **LNV** 21 (Jan-Mar 1903): 129-57. [Written in 1901 while in law school at Kiev University.]

1904

1904/00/00/

"Holota: Povist." [Written in 1903-4 during author's imprisonment.]

1904/00/00/

"Moie ostannie slovo: Opovidannia." **Nova hromada** 1 (Jan 1906); 4 (Apr? 1906); 5 (May? 1906); 6 (June? 1906). [This is his "Dribnytsia". Written in 1903-4.]

1904/00/00/

"Zaruchyny: Opovidannia." In **Na vichnu pam'iat Kotliarevskomu.** Kiev: Vik, 1904: 299-339.

1904/10/00/

"Kontrasty: Opovidannia." **Kievskaia staryna** 87, 1 (Oct 1904): 87-111.

1905

1905/00/00/

Shchastie: Opovidanie. Lviv: R.U.P., 1905. (V. Dede)

1905/02/00/

"Holota: Povist." **Kievskaia staryna** 88, no. 1 (1905): 117-87; no. 2 (1905): 209-62.

1905/04/00/

"Adres ukrainstiv pro potrebu ukrainskoi movy." **LNV** 30 (Apr-June 1905): 65-7. [Article carries the signatures of 99 intellectuals (including Vynnychenko 's) and defends the Ukr. language.]

1905/04/00/

"Mnimyi gospodin: Opovidannia." **Kievskaia staryna** 89, (April 1905): 117-38.

1906

1906/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev, 1906.

1906/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Krasa i syla i inshi opovidannia.** Kiev, 1906.

1906/00/00/

"Holota." In his **Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev, 1906.

1906/00/00/

"Kontrasty: Opovidannia." In his **Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev, 1906.

1906/00/00/

Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia. Kiev, 1906. [Also contains "Kontrasty," "Holota," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," etc.]

1906/00/00/

"Mnimyi gospodin: Opovidannia." In his

Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia. Kiev, 1906.

1906/00/00/

"Nich u tiurmi." In **Ukrainskyi dekliamator: Rozvaha**. 2d ed. Compiled by Oleksa Kovalenko. Kiev: Iv. Samonenko, 1906: 243-4.

1906/00/00/

Saldatyky: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. [s.l.]: Borotba, 1906. (V. Dede).

1906/00/00/

Temna syla. Kharkiv: Izd. Kom. Khark. Obshch. Gram., 1906. (V. Dede).

1906/00/00/

"Zaruchyny: Opovidannia." In his **Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia**. Kiev: Dzvin, 1906: 66-123.

1906/03/00/

"Khto voroh?" **Nova hromada** 3 or 7 (1906): 1-15.

1906/03/00/

"Na prystani: Opovidannia." **Vilna Ukraina** 3 (1906). (V. Dede): 17-30.

1906/03/00/

"Nich u tiurmi." (Poeziia) **Vilna Ukraina** 3 (1906): 57-8. (V. Dede).

1906/06/00/

"Dyzharmoniia: Kartyna z zhyttia revoliutsioneriv." **Vilna Ukraina** 5-6 (1906).

1906/06/00/

"Moie ostannie slovo: Opovidannia." **Nova hromada** 1 (Jan 1906): 1-39; 4 (Apr 1906): 1-39; 5 (May 1906): 39-63; 6 (June 1906): 41-67. [This is his "Dribnytsia".]

1906/06/00/

"Rab krasy." **Vilna Ukraina** 5-6 (1906). [This issue of "Vilna Ukraina" was confiscated.]

1906/06/04/

"Dyzharmoniia: Dramatychni kartyny na 4 dii." [Signed by V. Dede in Zelenyi klyn, 4 June 1906.]

1906/10/00/

"Temna syla." **Nova hromada** 10 or 11 (1906).

1906/10/29/

"Chest: Opovidannia." **Rada** 39 (29 Oct 1906): 1-3.

1907

1907/00/00/

"Moment: Z opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady." **Rada** 253 (10 Nov 1907): 2-3; 254 (11 Nov 1907): 2-3.

1907/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." **Rada** 271 (2 Dec 1907): 2-3.

1907/00/00/

"Shchabli zhyttia." **Dzvin** 1 (1907): 9-152.

1907/00/00/

"Chest." In his **Dribni opovidannia**. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 166-82.

1907/00/00/

Dribni opovidannia. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907. [Vynnychenko 's third collection of stories.]

1907/00/00/

Dym. Kiev: P. Barskyi, 1907.

1907/00/00/

"Dym: Rizdviana kazka." In his **Dribni opovidannia**. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 3-31.

1907/00/00/

Dyzharmoniia: Dramatychni kartyny na 4 dii. Kiev: Vik, 1907. [Signed by V. Dede in Zelenyi klyn, 4 June 1906.]

1907/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Dribni opovidannia**. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 149-65.

1907/00/00/

"Khto voroh?: Narys." In his **Dribni opovidannia**. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 48-70.

1907/00/00/

"Lantsiuh: Opovidannia esteta." In his **Dribni opovidannia**. Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 183-204.

1907/00/00/

"Maloros-ievropeiets." In his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 132-48.

1907/00/00/

["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment." **Stolichnaia pochta** 216-17 (St. Petersburgh, 1907).

1907/00/00/

"Na prystani: Eskiz." In his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 71-90.

1907/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 107-31.

1907/00/00/

"Temna syla: Z natury." In his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 32-47.

1907/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta 'Shchyryi': Lyst cholovika do zhinky." In his **Dribni opovidannia.** Kiev: S.A. Borisov, 1907: 91-106.

1907/00/00/

Velykyi molokh: P'iesa na 3 rozdily. Kiev, 1907.

1907/01/00/

"Dym: Rizdviana kazka"
[Written in the winter of 1906 - January 1907 while in Lukianivka jail.]

1907/01/00/

"Dym: Rizdviana kazka." **LNV** 37, no. 1 (Jan 1907): 7-24.

1907/01/00/

"Shchabli zhyttia: P'iesa na 4 rozdily." **Dzvin** 1 (1907): 9-152.

1907/08/00/

"Velykyi molokh: P'iesa na 3 rozdily." **LNV** 39, no. 4 (July-Sept 1907): 1-24, 213-63.

1907/11/00/

"Student." **LNV** 40, no. 11 (Nov 1907): 228-34.

1908

1908/00/00/

"Dym: Rizdviana kazka: Uryvok." **Ukrainskyi deklamator: Rozvaha.** Vol. 2. Compiled by Oleksa Kovalenko. Kiev, 1908: 355-76.

1908/00/00/

["Holod."] [In Russian] "Golod." **Kievskaia iskra** 2 (1908). (Trans. by F. Havrysh.)

1908/00/00/

Holota: P'iesa na 4 rozdily. Stage play by H. Bairachenko. Kiev, 1908.

1908/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi': Lyst cholovika do zhinky." In **Ukrainskyi deklamator: Rozvaha: Artystychnyi zbirnyk.** Kiev, 1908: 386-97.

1908/01/06/

"Hlum: Lyst iz tiurmy." **Rada** 5 (6 Jan 1908): 1-3.

1908/10/25/

["Rab krasy."] [In Russian] "Rab krasoty." **Niva** 43 (St. Petersburgh, 25 Oct 1908): 737-40.

1909

1909/00/00/

"Chuzhi liudy: Piesa na 5 rozdiliv." **LNV** 48, no. 10 (Oct 1909): 3-71.

1909/00/00/

"Kumediia z Kostem: Opovidannia." **Selo** 1-2 (1909).

1909/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." [Final revision done in 1909.]

1909/00/00/

["Zina."] [In Russian]
"Zina." Trans. by M. Shapoval. **Kievskaia iskra** 44 (1909).

1909/01/00/

"Memento." [Vynnychenko sent the completed work to "LNV" at the beginning of January 1909.]

1909/01/12/

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (12 Jan 1909) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917.** By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 44-5. [Re: Chykalenko's criticisms of Vynnychenko 's "Memento."]

1909/02/00/

"Memento." **LNV** 2 (Feb 1909): 241-303.

1909/03/23/

"Shchos bilshe za nas: Opovidannia." **Rada** 56 (23 Mar 1909): 2-3; 57 (24 Mar 1909): 1-3.

1909/04/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." **Rada** (April? 1909).

1909/04/08/

"Zapysna knyzhka." **Kubanskyii kurier** 166 (8 April 1909).

1909/05/00/

"Kuplia." **LNV** 46 (May 1909): 209-33.

1909/06/00/

["Shchos bilshe za nas." [In Russian]
"To, chto vyshe nas." Trans. by M. S-kaia. **Vestnik Evropy** 6 (St. Petersburgh, June 1909): 688-707.

1909/09/00/

"Zina." **LNV** 47, no. 9 (Sept 1909): 385-97.

1910

1910/00/00/

["Borotba."] [In Russian]
Borba. s.n.: Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov, 1910.

1910/00/00/

Brekhnia. Kharkiv, 1910. [Unavailble.]

1910/00/00/

"Chest." (In Russian). **Nikolsk Ussuriiskii** 21 (Jan-Feb 1910).

1910/00/00/

"Chudnyi epizod." **LNV** 52, no. 11 (Nov 1910): 209-17.

1910/00/00/

En Lutte. Translated from Ukrainian by the author. Paris?: Partiia Sots.-Revoliutsioneriv, 1910. [This is the author's "Borotba".] (V. Vynnytchenko).

1910/00/00/

"Hlum." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

1910/00/00/

"Kuplia." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

1910/00/00/

["Kuplia."] [In Russian] "Kuplia." In his **Kuplia i drugie rasskazy**. Moscow: Polza, 1910.

1910/00/00/

"Moment." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

1910/00/00/

["Moment."] [In Russian] "Moment." In his **Kuplia i drugie rasskazy**. Moscow: Polza, 1910.

1910/00/00/

['Moment."] [In Russian] "Moment." Trans. by M. Mohylianets. **Zhizn dlia vsekh** 7 (Petrograd, 1910).

1910/00/00/

Pratsia. 1910 (Edited by? V. Dede).

1910/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev: 1910.

1910/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910. [Originally entitled "Shchos vyshche za nas."]

1910/00/00/

Tretia knyzhka opovidan. Kiev, 1910. [Actually his fourth collection of stories.]

1910/00/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan.** Kiev, 1910.

1910/00/00/

["Zapysna knyzhka."] [In Russian] "Proklamatsii." In **Utro Rossii** 178 (Moscow, 1910).

1910/00/00/

"Zina." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan.** Kiev, 1910.

1910/00/00/

["Zina."] [In German] "Sina: Eine Erzahlung von Wolodymyr Wynnytschenko." Trans. by Olga Huzar-Pawluch. In **Ukrainische Rundschau** 9-10 (Vienna, 1910): 246-51; 11-12 (1910): 278-84.

1910/00/00/

["Zina."] [In Russian] "Zina." In his **Kuplia i drugie rasskazy.** Moscow: Polza, 1910.

1910/01/00/

"Dorohu krasi!" [A play finished in January 1910, which was later renamed *______.]

1910/01/00/

"Taiemna pryhoda." **Ukrainska khata** 1 (Jan 1910): 3-15.

1910/02/00/

"Bazar: Piesa na 4 rozdily." **LNV** 49, no. 2 (Feb 1910): 241-93. [Written before his "Shchabli zhyttia". Sent to Gorki to be reviewed.]

1910/07/00/

"Brekhnia." [Vynnychenko gave Ievhen Chykalenko this play to read some time in Aug 1910.]

1910/07/00/

["Kuplia."] [In Russian] "Kuplia." Trans. by A. Pigulovich. **Sovremennyi mir** 7 (St. Petersburgh, July 1910): 95-120.

1910/09/00/

["Rab krasy."] [In Russian] "Rab krasoty." **Novyi zhurnal dlia vsekh** 23 (St. Petersburgh, Sept 1910): 59-76.

1910/09/00/
"Spivochi tovarystva." [Completed by September 1910.]

1910/09/00/
"Taina: Vyryvky z shchodennyka." **Ukrainska khata** 9 (Sept? 1910): 513-32.

1910/10/00/
"Brekhnia: Piesa na 3 dii." **LNV** 52, no. 10 (October 1910): 3-57. [Written in the summer of 1910.]

1910/11/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1910? by Iosyp Stadnyk, stage director of the "Ruska besida" theatre in Lviv.

1910/12/00/
"Nashi orhanizatsiini zavdannia." **Nash holos** 2 (Lviv, Dec 1910): 69-75. (V. Dede).

1910/99/99/
"Kumediia z Kostem." In his **Tretia knyzhka opovidan**. Kiev, 1910.

1911

1911/00/00/
Bilia mashyny. Kiev, 1911.

1911/00/00/
["Chest."] [In Russian]
"Chest." Trans. by F. Havrish. **Golos provintsii** 2 (Uman, 1911).

1911/00/00/
"Chudnyi epizod." In his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?].

1911/00/00/
["Chudnyi epizod."] [In Russian]
"Strannoe proisshestvie." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/00/00/
["Chudnyi epizod."] [In Russian]
"Strannii epizod." Trans. by K. Dalnytskyi. **Zakavkaze** 1 (Tiflis, 1911).

1911/00/00/
"Dribnytsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 4: Kuz ta Hrytsun**. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?]. 1st edition. [Formerly called "Moie ostannie slovo."]

1911/00/00/
["Hlum."] [In Russian]
"Glumlenie." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/00/00/
["Holota"] [In Russian]
"Golytba." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/00/00/
["Kuplia."] [In Russian]
"Kuplia." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Tvory: Tom 4. 1st edition. Kiev, [1911?].**

1911/00/00/
["Kuz ta Hrytsun."] [In Russian]
"Kuz i Hrytsun." In **Sbornik tovarishchestva 'Znanie'** 37 (St. Petersburgh, 1911): 3-24.

1911/00/00/
["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/00/00/
["Moment."] [In Russian]
Moment: Iz rasskazov tiuremnoi Shkherezady. Trans. by M.K. Mukalov. Vladivostok: Tip. K.A. Nedzelskyi i ko., 1911.

1911/00/00/
["Rab krasy."] [In Russian]
"Nevolnyk krasoty." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/00/00/
Rasskazy. 9 vols. Moscow: Zemlia, 1911-16. [By 1915, 6 volumes were already published.]

1911/00/00/
Rasskazy: Tom 1. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe knigoizd., [1911].

1911/00/00/
Saldatyky: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. Chernivtsi: Selianyn, [1911]. (V. Dede).

1911/00/00/
["Shchos bilshe za nas." [In Russian] "Nechto bolshee nas." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/00/00/
"Student." [In Russian]. **Kievskaia iskra** 2 (1911).

1911/00/00/
"Student." [In Russian]. Trans. by Ark. Monhol. In **Kubanskii krai** 1 (Ekaterynoslav, 1911).

1911/00/00/
"Student." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?].

1911/00/00/
"Taiemna pryhoda." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?].

1911/00/00/
["Taiemna pryhoda."] [In Russian] "Strannaia istoriia." Trans. by A. Iar-ych. **Odesskie novosti** 8337 (1911).

1911/00/00/
["Taiemnist."] [In Russian] "Tainstvennost." Trans. by K. Anyshchenko. **Zakavkaze** 80-82 (Tiflis, 1911).

1911/00/00/
"Taina: Vyryvky z shchodennyka." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?].

1911/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 4. 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1911?].

1911/00/00/
["Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi."] [In Russian] "Istinno-ukrainets." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1911.

1911/01/00/
"Spivochi tovarystva: P'iesa na 4 dii." **LNV** 53, no. 1 (Jan 1911): 4-56.

1911/01/20/
"Brekhnia" Staged:

in 1910-1911 by the M. K. Sadovskyi theatre group in Kiev.

1911/01/26/

Chestnost s soboi. Zemlia 5 (1911). [This is his "Chesnist z soboiu." Characters are based on members of the Paris Hromada of 1909; see for example Iermolenko.] (V. Vinnichenko).

1911/02/04/

"Lyst do redaktsii." **Rada** 17 (4 Feb 1911): 4.

1911/03/00/

["Temna syla: Z natury."] (In Russian) **Golos provintsii** (Uman, ca. Jan-Mar 1911). [Editor of the paper was sent to prison for 2 weeks for publishing this story.]

1911/06/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid: Piesa na 4 dii." **LNV** 54, no. 6 (June 1911): 385-431. [Banned from being staged in tsarist Russia in 1911.]

1911/08/00/

"Vyryvok z spomyniv." **Nash holos** 6-8 (1911): 311-27.

1911/10/30/

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (30 Oct 1911) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917**. By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 240-1. [Got married, wants children, found happiness.]

1911/11/00/

["Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblemykh."] [In Russian] "O morali gospodstvuiushchikh i morali ugnetennykh." **Novaia zhizn** (Sept 1911).

1911/12/00/

"Pro moral panuiuchykh i moral pryhnoblenykh: Otvertyi lyst do moikh chytachiv i krytykiv." **Nash holos** 9-10 (1911): 451-79; 11-12 (1911): 529-64.

1912

1912/00/00/

Bilia mashyny: opovidannie. Kiev: Dzvin, 1912.

1912/00/00/

"Chekannie." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1912?].

1912/00/00/

Dochka zhandarma: P'iesa na dvi dii. Lviv, 1912.

1912/00/00/

"Dochka zhandarma: P'iesa na dvi dii." **Vpered** (Lviv, 1912?).

1912/00/00/

"Khvedko Khalamydnyk." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st edition. Kiev, [1912?]

1912/00/00/

"Malenka rysochka." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st edition. Kiev: Dzvin, [1912?].

1912/00/00/

["Opovidannia."] [In Latvian] **Stahsti**. Riga: M. Tiller, 1912.

1912/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1912].

1912/00/00/

"Promin sontsia: Opovidannia." **Zasiv** 12 (1912).

1912/00/00/

Rasskazy: Tom 2. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1912. [Dribnytsia, Kontrasty, Taiemna pryhoda, Zapysna knyzhka, Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, Rabyni spravzhnoho, Kuz ta Hrytsun.]

1912/00/00/

["Taiemna pryhoda."] [In Russian] "Tainstvennyi sluchai." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 2.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1912.

1912/00/00/

"Taiemnist." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1912?].

1912/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 5. 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1912?]. [Contains "Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku," "Promin sontsia," "Fedko-khalamydnyk," "Malenka rysochka," "Chekannia," "Taiemnist," "Vyryvok z spomyniv."]

1912/00/00/

["Zapysna knyzhka."] [In Russian] "Zapisnaia knizhka." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 1**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1912.

1912/02/00/

"Khvedko Khalamydnyk." [Written not later than February 1912.]

1912/02/10/

"Lyst ukrainskykh pysmennykiv, uchenykh, ta khudozhnykiv do ukrainskoho hromadianstva z pryvodu maibutnoho iuvyleiu d-ra Iv. Franka." **Dilo** (10 Feb 1912).

1912/02/25/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] "Fedko-khalamydnyk: Opovidannia." **Rada** 35 (25 Feb 1912): 2-3; 36 (27 Feb 1912): 2-3; 37 (28 Feb 1912): 2-3.

1912/03/00/

"Lyst ukrainskykh pysmennykiv, uchenykh, ta khudozhnykiv do ukrainskoho hromadianstva z pryvodu maibutnoho iuvyleiu d-ra Iv. Franka." **Ukrainska khata** (Mar-Apr 1912): 236. (Vynnychenko, Kotsiubynskyi, Stefanyk, etc.]

1912/03/00/

"Taiemnist." **LNV** 57, no. 3 (Mar 1912): 449-74.

1912/03/31/

"Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok iz spomyniv." **Rada** 65 (31 Mar 1912): 2; 66 (2 Apr 1912): 2; 67 (3 Apr 1912): 2; 68 (4 Apr 1912): 2.

1912/04/00/

["Taiemnist."] [In Russian] "Tainstvennost: Rasskaz." **Novyi zhurnal dlia vsekh** 4 (St. Petersburgh, Apr 1912): 45-74.

1912/06/00/

"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." **LNV** 58, no. 5 (May 1912): 193-220; 6 (June 1912): 418-440.

1912/07/23/

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (23 July 1912) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917**. By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 314-17.

1912/09/00/

"Na vesakh zhizni: Roman." **Zemlia: Sbornik** 9 (Moscow, 1912): 27-292. [Also known as "Rivnovaha," "On Life's Scale," and "On the Path of Life."]

1912/09/21/

"Chekannia: Opovidannia." **Rada** 206 (21 Sept 1912): 2-4.

1912/11/00/

["Chekannia."] [In Russian] "Ozhidanie." **Novaia zhizn** (St. Petersburgh, Nov 1912).

1912/12/00/

"Natus: P'iesa na 4 dii." **LNV** 60 (Dec 1912): 403-49.

1913

1913/??/??/

"Po-svii!" **Dzvin** 3-6 (1913).

1913/00/00/

Bilia mashyny: Opovidannia. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

1913/00/00/

"Chekannia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kiev: Dzvin, [1913].

1913/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1913-14 by Siretskyi of the Besida theatre (where L. Kurbas played the part of Kornii).

1913/00/00/

Fedko-khalamydnyk: Opovidannia. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

1913/00/00/

"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, [1913?].

1913/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] "Fedko-khalamydnyk." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kiev, [1913].

1913/00/00/

Krasa i syla. 1913. Cover design by Vasyl H. Krychevskyi.

1913/00/00/

["Lantsiuh"] [In Russian]
In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/00/00/

"Malenka rysochka." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kiev: Dzvin, [1913].

1913/00/00/

Moloda krov. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

1913/00/00/

["Peremozhets"] [In Russian]
In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/00/00/

["Peresliduvanni: Opovidannia."] [In Latvian]
Wajatee" Stajsto is kreewu rewoluzionaru dsihwes. Tulk. I.A. Bite. Wenden: A. Bite, 1913.

1913/00/00/

"Po-svii: Roman." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** 1st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

1913/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

1913/00/00/

Rasskazy: Tom 2. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe knigoizd., [1913].

1913/00/00/

Rasskazy: Tom 3. Trans. into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913. [Fedko-khalamydnyk, Krasa i syla, Mnimyi-hospodin, Zina, Bilia mashyny, Taiemnist, Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku.]

1913/00/00/

Rasskazy: Tom 4. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe knigoizd., [1913].

1913/00/00/

Rasskazy: Tom 5: Na vesakh zhizni. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/00/00/

["Rivnovaha."] [In Russian]

"Na vesakh zhizni." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 5**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913. [Also called "Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 5."]

1913/00/00/

Rivnovaha. Translated from Russian by N. Romanovych. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

1913/00/00/

"Rivnovaha: Roman." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kiev, 1913. [This is his "Na vesakh zhizni."]

1913/00/00/

["Syla i krasa."] [In Russian]
"Krasota i sila." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 3**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/00/00/

"Taiemnist." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kiev: Dzvin, [1913].

1913/00/00/

["Taiemnist."] [In Russian]
"Tainstvennost." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 3**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/00/00/

["Taina."] [In Russian]
"Taina: Otryvok iz dnevnika." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 4**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/00/00/

["Talisman."] [In Russian]. In **Pervii almanakh izd-va 'Soiuz'**. St. Petersburgh, 1913.

1913/00/00/

["Talisman."] [In Russian]
"Talisman." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 4**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 5. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913.

1913/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 6. Translated from Russian by N. Romanovych. Cover by O. Sudomor. Kiev: Dzvin, 1913. [Contains his "Rivnovaha."]

1913/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 7. Kiev, 1913. [Contains his "Po-svii."]

1913/00/00/

"Vyryvok z 'Spomyniv'." In his **Tvory: Tom**

5. 1st ed. Kiev, [1913?].

1913/00/00/

Zavety ottsov. 1913.

1913/00/00/

["Zina."] [In Russian]
"Zina." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 3.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1913.

1913/02/00/

"Filozofiia i etyka Shevchenka: Promova v 51 rokovyny smerty poeta." **Dzvin** 2 (1913): 88-93.

1913/02/00/

"Olaf Stefanzon." **Dzvin** 1 (Jan 1913): 8-19; 2 (Feb 1913): 60-79.

1913/03/00/

["Po-svii!"] [In Russian]
"K svoim." **Zavety** 3 (Mar 1913): 11-51; 4 (Apr 1913): 49-72; 5 (May 1913): 13-45.

1913/05/00/

"Talisman." **LNV** 5(May 1913): 229-56.

1913/06/11/

"Temna syla: Z natury." **Robitnyk** 62 (11 June 1917): 3; 63 (12 June 1913): 3; 64 (13 June 1913): 3.

1913/08/00/

"Moloda krov." **Dzvin** 7-8 (July-Aug 1913).

1913/09/00/

"Nasha 'nahorna' propovid." **Rabochyi narod** 5, no. 39 (Sept 1913): 2-3.

1913/10/00/

"Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam." **Den** 280. [1913?].

1913/10/00/

"Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam." **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 10 (1913): 29-33. [Criticizes Russian writers for their (racist) portrayal of Ukrainians in their works.]

1913/10/20/

["Otkrytoe pismo k Russkim pisateliam."]
"Lyst V. Vynnychenka do rosiiskykh pysmennykiv." **Rada** 240 (Kiev, 20 Oct 1913): 2-3.

1913/11/00/

"Teren." **Dzvin** 10 (1913): 260-78; 11 (1913): 384-93.

1913/11/05/

"Peremozhets." **Rada** 241 (4 Nov 1913): 2-3; 242 (5 Nov 1913): 2-3. [Dontsov took this story to be a personal attack on him (i.e. the character Tsviakh.]

1914

1914/??/??/

[**Perepysni lysty.**] Vienna: USDP, 1914. [Is this his "Nashi oriientatsii"?]

1914/00/00/

"Bozhky." **Dzvin** 3-6 (1914): 383-419,(?). [Concerning the relations between Ukrainian and Russian Social Democrats.]

1914/00/00/

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Russian] **Chesnost s soboi: Povest.** Munich: Izd. G. Miullera, 1914.

1914/00/00/

"Henii Ukrainy." **Dzvin** 2 (1914).

1914/00/00/

"Khoma priadka." In his **Na prystani ta inshe.** Kiev, 1914: 20-30.

1914/00/00/

"Khoma Priadka." In **Pryvit Ivanovi Frankovi: V soroklittia ioho pysmenskoi pratsi, 1874-1914: Literaturno-naukovyi zbirnyk.** Lviv: Iuvileinyi Komitet, 1916: 55-63.

1914/00/00/

Kuz ta Hrytsun: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: Pechatnyk, 1914.

1914/00/00/

Moloda krov. Kiev: Dzvin, 1914.

1914/00/00/

Na prystani ta inshe. Kiev, 1914. [Actually published in Vienna.]

1914/00/00/

Nashi oriientatsii. [Lviv?]: USDP, 1914.

1914/00/00/

"Nich u tiurmi." In his **Na prystani ta inshe**. Kiev, 1914: 30-1.

1914/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 7. Kiev: Dzvin, 1914. [Contains his "Po-svii."]

1914/00/00/

["Zapovit batkiv."] "Zavety ottsov." **Zemlia** 14 (Moscow, 1914): 97-286.

1914/01/00/

"Radist." **Dzvin** 1 (1914).

1914/01/29/

"Chyi Shevchenko?" **Robochyi narod** 6, no. 5 (29 Jan 1914).

1914/02/00/

["Henii Ukrainy."] [In Russian] "T.G. Shevchenko: K stoletnei godovshchene so dnia rozhdeniia." **Zavety** 2 (St. Petersburgh, Feb 1914): 1-8.

1914/05/05/

"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." **Prosvita** 5 (May 1914): 23-37.

1914/05/12/

"Lyst do redaktsii." **Rada** 97 (12 May 1914): 4.

1914/06/27/

"Lyst do redaktsii." **Rada** 144 (27 June 1914): 2-3; 145 (28 June 1914): 2-3.

1914/12/02/

"Bosiak." [Vynnychenko began writing this in Moscow on 2 Dec 1914. The Russian version was finished on 19 Dec 1914. The Ukrainian version was ready on 29 Dec 1914.]

1914/12/22/

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (22 Dec 1914) Text in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny**. Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 83-4.

1915

1915/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi" [In Russian]
In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

"Bosiak." **Iezhemesiachnyi zhurnal** 6-10 (1915). [Vynnychenko began writing this on 2 Dec 1914 while living under an assumed name in Moscow. The Russian version was ready two weeks later.]

1915/00/00/

"Bosiak." **Osnova: Vistnyk pysmenstva nauky i hromadskoho zhyttia.** (Odessa, 1915).

1915/00/00/

"Bosiak." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 9.** Translated into Russian. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915.

1915/00/00/

["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 8.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 7.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

Brekhnia. Kharkiv: Dzvin, 1915.

1915/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1915-16 in Saratov by Von Meves.

1915/00/00/

["Dribnytsia."] [In Russian]
"Meloch." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

"Kontrasty." [In Russian]
"Kontrasty." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

["Kuz ta Hrytsun."] [In Russian] "Kuz i Hrytsun." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

Kuz ta Hrytsun. Kharkiv, 1915.

1915/00/00/

["Lantsiuh."] [In Russian] "Tsepi." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

"Olaf Stefenson." [In Russia] In his [**Tvory: Tom 6.**] **Rasskasy**[?]. Moscow: Zemlia, 1915?: 61-132.

1915/00/00/

["Peremozhets."] [In Russian] "Pobeditel." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

["Rabyni spravzhnoho."] [In Russian] "Dva epizoda." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 9.** Moscow: Dzvin, 1915.

1915/00/00/

Rasskazy: Tom 6. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Moskovskoe knigoizd., [1915].

1915/00/00/

Rasskazy: Tom 9. Translated into Russian. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915.

1915/00/00/

Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 2: Rasskazy. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915. [Dribnytsia, Kontrasty, Taiemna pryhoda, Zapysna knyzhka, Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, Rabyni spravzhnoho, Kuz ta Hrytsun.]

1915/00/00/

Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 8: Bozhki: Roman. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 7: Bozhki:

Roman. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/00/00/

Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915. [Contains "Lantsiuh," "Peremozhets,"]

1915/00/00/

Syla i krasa: Povist. Winnipeg: Ruska Knyharnia, 1915.

1915/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 9.** Moscow: Dzvin, 1915.

1915/00/00/

"Teren." (In Russian) In his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Moscow: Zemlia, 1915?: 133-69.

1915/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 9.** Moscow: Dzvin, 1915: 139-66.

1915/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 8. Kiev? 1915? [No reference for this item anywhere.]

1915/00/00/

Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi: Lyst cholovika do zhinky. Kharkiv: Dzvin, 1915.

1915/00/00/

["Zaruchyny."] [In Russian] "Obruchenie." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 6: Rasskazy**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1915.

1915/01/12/

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (12 Jan 1915) A. Zhuk archives, NLC, Ottawa. [Not consulted. Mentioned in D. Doroshenko, "Z istorii ukr. politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny." p. 85.]

1915/02/00/

Tvory: Tom 9. Moscow: Dzvin, 1915. [Contains his "Bosiak," "Radist," "Teren," "Talisman."]

1915/02/22/

"Shliub." [A novel never completed. First started on 22 Feb 1915.]

1915/03/15/

"Khochu!" [Written between January 16 1915 and Mar 15 1915.]

1915/06/15/

"Soiashnyk." [Completed 15 June 1915. Unpublished.]

1915/07/00/

"V chem nasha sila?" **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 7 (1915): 13-18.

1915/08/02/

"Zlochynstvo." [Unpublished. Started on 2 August 1915.]

1915/09/00/

"Nepotukhshii ogon." **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 8-9 (1915): 46-52. [Calls for the nationalization and Ukrainianization of schools. Written 1 Sept 1915. Iurkevych called this article a "rabska-natsionalna teoriia."]

1915/09/28/

"Pryhvozhdeni." [A play also called "Rozp'iati." Completed 28 Sept 1915.]

1915/10/00/

"Nezhaslyi vohon." **Vistnyk soiuzu vyzvolennia Ukrainy** 73-4 (Nov? 1915).

1915/10/00/

"Brekhnia" Staged: in 1915-1916 (Feb) in Petrograd at the Aleksandrinskyi theatre.

1915/11/05/

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (5 Nov 1915) Excerpts in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny.** Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 85.

1915/11/20/

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (20? Nov 1915) Text in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny.** Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 85-8. [Re: "Slovo"]

1915/12/00/

"'Lupaite siu skalu!'" **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 11-12 (1915): 7-16. [Calls for the setting up of an all-nat'l all-ukrainian publishing cooperative. Criticises parochial Ukrainian youth.]

1915/12/31/

"V chim nasha syla?" **Shliakhy** 2 (31 Dec 1915).[This is his "V chem nasha sila?"]

1916

1916/00/00/
["Bilia mashyny."] [In Russian]
"U molotikti." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
Bilia mashyny: opovidannie. Skranton, Pa.: Vydavnytstvo Prosvitnoi Komisii Ruskoho Narodnoho Soiuzu, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
Bozhki: Roman v 2 chastiakh. Moscow: Zemlia, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Bozhky."] [In Russian]
"Bozhki." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 7.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Brekhnia."] [In Russian]
Lozh. Moscow: Izd. S.F. Razsokhina, 1916.

1916/00/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1916 in Baku by Polonskyi.

1916/00/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1916 in Samara by Lebedeva.

1916/00/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1916 in Moscow, Petrograd, Saratov by the Von Meves theatre.

1916/00/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1916 by the A.I. Sibiriakov theatre in Odessa.

1916/00/00/
"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow:

Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku."] [In Russian]
"Istoriia Akimova zdaniia." In his **Rasskazy: Tom 3.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
"Khochu!: roman." [In Russian]
"Khochu." **Zemlia** 18 (Moscow, 1916): 5-258.

1916/00/00/
"Khochu!" In his **Tvory: Tom 10.** Moscow, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] [In Russian]
"Fedka-khalamidnik." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Mnimyi hospodin."] [In Russian]
"Mnimyi gospodin." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1915-16 in Saratov at the Ostrovskyi Theatre.

1916/00/00/
"Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1916 in Saratov by the Ostrovskyi Theatre.

1916/00/00/
Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 8: Bozhki: Roman. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916. [Fedko-khalamydnyk, Krasa i syla, Mnimyi-hospodin, Zina, Bilia mashyny, Taiemnist, Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku.]

1916/00/00/
Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 7: Bozhki: Roman. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
["Taiemnist."] [In Russian] "Tainstvennost." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 10. Moscow: Dzvin, 1916. [Contains his "Khochu."]

1916/00/00/
["Zina."] [In Russian] "Zina." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 3: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1916.

1916/01/00/
"Baryshenka." **Promin** 1 (1916).

1916/02/13/
["Nepotukhshii ogon."] "Nepohaslyi vohon." **Visnyk Soiuzu vyzvolennia Ukrainy** 13-14 (13 Feb 1916): 97-99.

1916/02/16/
"Krylati povzuny" [A play. Parts written in February 1916. Unpublished?]

1916/04/00/
"Pryhvozhdeni." **Promin** 2-4 (1916); 5-6, 7-8 (1917).

1916/05/00/
["[Pterodaktyli."] [In Russian] "Pterodaktili." In **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 4-5 (Moscow, Apr-May 1916): 96-105.

1916/05/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged: in 1916 (May-Aug) at the Nezlobin theatre.

1916/06/28/
"Holos rosiikoho Ukraintsia." **Ukrainskyi holos** 26 (28 June 1916). [This is his "V chem nasha sila?"]

1916/07/16/
"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia." **Promin** 1-4 (1917). [Started on 16 July 1916].

1916/08/00/
"Pryhvozhdenni" was banned from being staged by M. Sadovskyi in Kiev because the Ukrainian version was never passed by the censors.

1916/09/28/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1916 (Sept 28) by the Nezlobin theatre in Ekaterynodar.

1916/10/00/
["Dekilka sliv pro nashu molod."] [In Russian]
"Neskolko slov o nashei molodezhi," **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 10-11 (Oct-Nov 1916): 48-52.

1917

1917/00/00/
"Bazar" [In Russian]
"Bazar." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/
Borotba: Z lystiv studenta, zaslanoho v saldaty. 3rd ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

1917/00/00/
Borotba: Z lystiv studenta, zaslanoho v saldaty. 4th ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

1917/00/00/
["Brekhnia."] [In Russian]
"Lozh." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/
["Chekannia."] [In Russian]
"Ozhidanie." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/
["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In Russian]
"Chernaia pantera i bilyi vedmid." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9**. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/
["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariatu UTsR."] "Deklaratsiia Generalnogo Sekretariata

oglashennaia predsedatelem V. Vinnichenko na zasedanii Tsentralnoi Rady 26 iiunia 1917." In **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 3-6 (1917): 143-8.

1917/00/00/

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] [In English]
"Speech by V. Vinnichenko at the Second Ukrainian Military Congress." In **The Russian Provisional Government, 1917**. Vol. 1.

1917/00/00/

Fedko-khalamydnyk. 3d ed. Kiev-Kharkiv: Dzvin, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Fedko-khalamydnyk. 4th ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Fedko-khalamydnyk. 5th ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

1917/00/00/

["Khto voroh?"] [In Russian]
"Na rabochem punkte: Nabrosok." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

["Khvostati."] [In Russian]
"Khvostatye." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

["Kumediia z Kostem."] [In Russian]
"Istoriia s Kostei." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Lantsiuh. Petrograd: Dzvin, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Lozh: Chernaia pantera: Prigvozhdennie. Moscow: "Zemlia", 1917. [Russian translations of Vynnychenko 's "Brekhnia," "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" and "Pryhvozhdeni".] (V. Vinnichenko).

1917/00/00/

["Malenka rysochka."] [In Russian]
"Malenkaia chertochka." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo,

1917.

1917/00/00/
"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Odessa by the Dramaticheskii Theatre.

1917/00/00/
"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Kiev by Sinelnikov at the Solovtsova Theatre.

1917/00/00/
"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Samara by Lebedeva.

1917/00/00/
"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Baku by Polonskyi.

1917/00/00/
"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Kharkiv by Sinelnikov.

1917/00/00/
["Moment."] [In Russian]
"Moment." Trans. by M. Mukalov. **Okeanskii vestnik** 569-71 (Vladivostok, 1917).

1917/00/00/
"Prigvozhdennie." In his **Lozh: Chernaia pantera: Prigvozhdennie.** Moscow: "Zemlia", 1917. [Russian translations of Vynnychenko 's "Brekhnia," "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" and "Pryhvozhdeni".]

1917/00/00/
"Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Samara by Teatr Lebedeva.

1917/00/00/
"Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Kiev by Sinelnikova.

1917/00/00/
"Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Petrograd by Teatr Nezlobina.

1917/00/00/
"Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Tiflis in the Teatr Gitaevoi by the Tirto Society.

1917/00/00/
"Prigvozhdennie." Staged:
in 1915-17? in Kharkiv by Sinelnikova.

1917/00/00/

"Prigvozhdennie." Staged: in 1915-17? in Moscow by Teatr Nezlobina.

1917/00/00/

["Promin sontsia."] [In Russian] "Luch solntsa." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

["Pryhvozhdeni."] [In Russian] "Prigvozhdeni." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9.** Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

["Rivnovaha."] [In Russian] "Na vesakh zhizni." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Saldatyky!. Kiev: Dzvin, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Slipyi: Opovidannia. Kiev-Kharkiv, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917. [See his "Rasskazy: Tom 4".]

1917/00/00/

Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 5: Na vesakh zhizni: Roman. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917. [Includes: "Lozh," "Chernaia pantera," "Prigvozhdeni."]

1917/00/00/

["Taina."] [In Russian] "Taina: Otryvok iz dnevnika." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

["Talisman."] [In Russian] "Talisman." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 4: Rasskazy.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1917.

1917/00/00/

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In

Russian]
"Zapiski kurnosogo Mefistofelia: Roman." **Zemlia** 20 (Moscow, 1917): 5-269.

1917/00/00/
"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Uryvok." **Promin** 1-2 (1917): 1-12; 3-4 (1917): 3-14.

1917/01/00/
"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 in Moscow at the Sukhodolskyi Theatre.

1917/01/11/
"Moment: Z opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady." **Robitnyk** 2 (11 Jan 1917): 4; 3 (18 Jan 1917): 3; 4 (25 Jan 1917): 3; 5 (1 Feb 1917): 4; 6 (8 Feb 1917): 4.

1917/01/14/
"Vichnyi vohon." **Promin** 1-2 (Moscow, 14 Jan 1917): 20-1.

1917/03/15/
"Z promovy tov. V. Vynnychenka: Vyholoshenoi na robitnychim sviati u L'vovi v rokovyny smerty Tarasa Shevchenka." **Robitnyk** 11 (Cleveland, 15 Mar 1917): 2.

1917/03/16/
"Talisman." **Robochyi narod** 4 (26 Jan 1917): 2-3; 5 (2 Feb): 3; 6 (10 Feb): 3; 7 (16 Feb): 3; 8 (23 Feb): 3; 9 (2 Mar): 2-3; 10 (9 Mar): 2-3; 11 (16 Mar 1917): 3-4.

1917/03/31/
"Na storozhi narodnoi voli." **Robitnycha hazeta** 2 (31 Mar 1917): 1-2. (V.V.)

1917/04/00/
"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia." **Promin** 1-4 (1917). [Started on 16 July 1916].

1917/04/04/
["Dopovid na Kyiv. ob'iedn. zbory prezydii i vyk. kom. hrom. orhan."] (4? April 1917). **Russkoe slovo** (6? April 1917). [Not consulted.]

1917/04/06/
["Dopovid na Kyiv. ob'iedn. zbory prezydii i vyk. kom. hrom. orhan."] (4? April 1917). **Russkoe slovo** (6? April 1917). [Not consulted.]

1917/04/18/
"Try tysiachi shukachiv." **Robitnycha**

hazeta 15 (18 Apr 1917): 2-4.

1917/04/20/
["Dopovid na ekstrennomu ob'ied. zasid. rady rob. i viisk. dep."] (20 April 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 45. [On the Polish example of struggling for nat'l rights as example for "Bohdanivtsi."]

1917/04/20/
["Promova na druhim ob'ied. zasid. rady soldatskykh i rob. dep."] (20 Apr 1917)

1917/04/20/
"Promova [na ob'ied. zasid. rady viisk. ukr. voien. okruhy i rady rob. dep."] (20 Apr/17)

1917/04/25/
"Ukrainska tsentralna rada i my." **Robitnycha hazeta** 20 (25 Apr 1917): 2.

1917/04/28/
"Holod." **Robitnyk** 77 (Cleveland, 28 Apr 1917): 3; 78 (29 Apr 1917): 3; 30 (30 Apr 1917): 3.

1917/04/28/
"Nasha 'nahorna' propovid." **Robochyi narod** 16 (28 April 1917): 2. [Quotes from the bible to discredit religion.]

1917/05/00/
"Bazar" Staged:
in 1917 (May) in Kiev by L. Kurbas of the "Molodyi teatr".

1917/05/00/
"Bazar" Staged:
in 1923-1929 at the Nizhynskyi Institute of Education, by Protsenko.

1917/05/00/
"Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR..." **Visti z UTsR** 8 (May 1917): 1-3. (Vynnychenko, D. Korobenko, et al.)

1917/05/05/
["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] (5 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 65. Excerpts. ["We are not marching on Russia with bayonets, but neither will we permit them to march on us."]

1917/05/06/
["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. viisk.

zizdi."] (6 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 66. Excerpts. [Calls on all repr. of SD parties to renounce ideas of annexation and support Ukrainskyi representation at Int'l peace talks.]

1917/05/06/

["Rezoliutsiia na pershomu ukrainskomu viisk. zizdi."] (6 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 67. [His resolution which urges that the army be transformed into a peoples' militia is passed.]

1917/05/08/

["Promova na pershim viiskovim zizdi."] (8? May 1917).

1917/05/24/

"Kumediia z Kostem: Opovidannia." [Excerpt] **Robitnyk** 50 (24 May 1917): 3; 51 (25 May 1917): 3.

1917/05/28/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (28 May 1917). **Robitnycha hazeta** 47.

1917/05/28/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (28 May 1917).

1917/05/30/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (30 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 96-7. Excerpts. [Kerensky is attacked and UTsR is call a legislative body with no power in its hands.]

1917/05/31/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (31 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 99. Excerpts. [Against socialization of land, but in favour of its municipalization. Ownership of land - hromady.]

1917/06/03/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (May? 1917). **Vestnik poltavskogo gubernskogo obshchestvennogo komiteta** (3 June 1917).

1917/06/07/

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] "Ob taktyku ukraintsiv v teperishnyi moment." Speech deliv. at the 2d All-Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress on 7 June 1917. In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V.

Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 110-111. ["We have no capitalist class...]

1917/06/08/

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viiskovomu zizdi."] [In Russian]
"Rech V. Vinnichenko na 2 vseukrainskom voiskovom s'ezde." **Kievskaia mysl** (8 June 1917).

1917/06/09/

["Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vyk. kom. rady rob. ta soldat. dep."] "Zap. ukr. TsR tym. uriadu." In **Narysy.** By Mlynovetskyi. Vol. 1. Toronto, 1970: 234-7, 458-68.

1917/06/10/

"Promova V. Vynnychenka [na ob'ied. zasid. rady viisk. ukr. voien. okruhy i rady rob. dep."] (20 Apr? 1917) As reported in **Vistnyk Soiuzu Vyzvolennia Ukrainy** 154 (10 June 1917).

1917/06/13/

"Khto voroh?" **Robitnyk** 64 (13 June 1917): 3; 65 (14 June): 3; 66 (15 June): 3; 67 (16 June 1917): 3.

1917/06/18/

"Na prystani: Eskiz." **Robitnyk** 68 (18 June 1917): 3; 69 (19 June 1917): 3; 70 (20 June 1917): 3.

1917/06/19/

["Promova pidchas politychnoi prohulky po Dnipri, zorhanizovana vyk. kom. R.O.H.O."] (19 June 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 127-8. [Vynnychenko on Ukr. bourgoisie; independence.]

1917/06/20/

["Promova na obied. zasid. vyk. kom. R.O.H.O. i preds. TsR"] (20 June 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 128-9. [Vynnychenko warns that if the Gen. Sec. is not recognized, drastic steps will be taken.]

1917/06/21/

"Rab krasy: Opovidannia." **Robitnyk** 71 (21 June 1917): 3; 72 (23 June 1917): 3; 73 (24 June 1917): 3; 74 (25 June 1917): 3.

1917/06/24/

"Bratannia chy prosto vzhe braterstvo." **Robitnycha hazeta** 69 (Kiev, 24 June 1917): 1.

1917/06/24/

["Dopovid pro zasid. vyk. kom.."] (24 June 1917) [Mentioned in Manilov and Khrystiuk. Not consulted.]

1917/06/24/

["Promova na obied. zasid. vyk. kom. R.O.H.O. i preds. TsR"] (24 June 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 135. [On the question of organizing an authoritative organ to take all power in Ukraine.]

1917/06/25/

"Maloros-evropyiets." **Robitnyk** 74 (25 June 1917): 3; 75 (26 June 1917):; 3; 76 (27 June 1917): 3; 77 (28 June 1917): 3.

1917/06/26/

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariatu UTsR." [Dated 26 June 1917 o.s.]

1917/06/30/

"Chest: Opovidannia." **Robitnyk** 79 (30 June 1917): 3; 80 (2 July 1917): 3; 81 (3 July 1917): 3; (5 July 1917): 3.

1917/07/04/

["Dopovid na zasid. Kyiv. vyk. kom., soiuz ob'ied. hrom. orhan..."] (4 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 152. [Vynnychenko proposes that pressure be exerted to show bolshevizm that if it takes power, Ukr. dem. is not on its side.]

1917/07/05/

"Lantsiuh." **Robitnyk** 82 (5 July 1917): 3; 83 (6 July 1917): 3; 84 (7 July 1917): 3; 85 (9 July 1917): 3.

1917/07/06/

["Dopovid na zasid. Kyiv. vyk. kom.,

1917/07/05/

["Povidomlennia tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi."] (5 July 1917) **Kievskaia mysl, 164** (5? July 1917). **soiuz ob'ied. hrom. orhan..."] (4 July 1917) Kievskaia mysl** 163. [Re: pressure exerted to show bol. that if take power Ukr. dem. is not on side.]

1917/07/06/

["Povidomlennia tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi."] [In Russian]
"Donesenie V.K. Vinnichenko Vremennomu pravitelstvu ob iiulskikh sobytiiakh v Kieve." **Kievskaia mysl** 164 (6

July 1917).

1917/07/11/

["Dopovid na vseukr. robitnychomu zizdi."] (11 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 166. [On the bolsheviks' agitation having some basis in fact.]

1917/07/12/

["Dopovid na vseukr. robitnychomu zizdi."] (10-12 July 1917) In V.L. "Pershyi vseukr. rob. zizd." **Robochyi narod** 43 (31 Oct 1917): 4. [Reply to Maievskyi re: power to Soviets.]

1917/07/14/

"Dym: Rizviana kazka." **Robitnyk** 90-98 (14 July 1917-24 July 1917): 3.

1917/07/28/

"Nasha nahorna propovid." **Robitnyk** 102 (Cleveland, 28 July 1917): 2.

1917/08/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1914 (Aug) in Lviv by S. Charnetskyi at the Ruska Besida theatre.

1917/08/00/

"Pryhvozhdeni." **Promin** 2-4 (1916); 5-8 (1917). [A play also called "Rozp'iati." Completed 28 Sept 1915.]

1917/08/05/

["Dopovid na ekstrennomu sessii maloi rady pro instruktsii tymchasovoho uriadu."] (5-8 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 193-6.

1917/08/10/

["Telehramma tymchasovomu uriadi v spravi interviu iz frantsuzkym korrespondentom."] (10 Aug 1917). **Nova rada** 111 (10? Aug 1917).

1917/08/10/

["Telehramma tymchasovomu uriadi v spravi interviu iz frantsuzkym korrespondentom."] (10 Aug 1917). In **1917** . Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 202. [Reprinted from "Nova rada" no. 111.]

1917/08/10/

["Zaiava v spravi interviu iz frantsuzkym korrespondentom."] (10 Aug 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd.

Ukrainy, 1928: 202.

1917/08/11/

["Dopovid na zakrytomu zasid. maloi rady v spravi formovannia novoho skladu Hen. Sek."] (11 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 204.

1917/08/13/

["Dopovid na zasid. maloi rady v spravi formovannia novoho sekretariata"] (13 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 208.

1917/09/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1917-18 (every Sunday) at the "Berhonie" theatre in Kiev by L. Kurbas (with O. Dobrovolska playing the part of Snizhynka.).

1917/09/03/

"Shchabli zhyttia." **Robitnyk** 132-153 (Cleveland, 3-28 Sept 1917): 3.

1917/09/24/

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariata."] **Robitnycha hazeta** 142 (24 Sept 1917).

1917/09/24/

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata (24 Sept 1917)"] [In Russian]
"Izveshchenii Generalnogo Sekretariata o vstuplenii v upravlenie kraem." **Kievskaia mysl** (24 Sept 1917).

1917/09/24/

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata (24 Sept 1917)"] [In Russian]
"Izveshchenii Generalnogo Sekretariata o vstuplenii v upravlenie kraem." In **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros.** Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow: Izd. Kom. Akad., 1930: 188.

1917/09/24/

"Ko vsem zheleznodorozhnikam Ukrainy." **Robitnycha hazeta** 142 (24 Sept 1917). [Mentioned in Manilov.]

1917/09/27/

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 27 Sept 1917].

1917/09/28/

["Obizhnyk V. Vynnychenka huberniialnym i povitovym komisaram pro vystupy proty UTsR."] [In

Russian]
"Tsyrkuliar V. Vinnichenko gub. i uezd. kom. po voprosy o vystup. protiv Rady." In **Kiievskaia mysl** (28 Sept 1917).

1917/09/29/
"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 29 Sept 1917].

1917/09/30/
["Dopovid na chetvertomu zizdi USDRP."] (30 September 1917). Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 270.

1917/10/00/
"Panna Mara." [Written on a train between September-October 1917 during one of Vynnychenko 's trips to Petrograd.]

1917/10/01/
"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 27 Sept 1917]. **Robitnycha hazeta** (1 October 1917): 1.

1917/10/10/
["Dopovid na zasid. maloi rady pro sklykannia ukrainskoho narodnoho soimu."] (10 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 287-8. ["Ukrainian Social Democrats are against state independence..."]

1917/10/00/
"Bratannia chy prosto vzhe braterstvo." **Robitnyk** 166 (Cleveland, 13 Oct 1917): 2.

1917/10/13/
["Memorandum Tymchasovomu uriadu z pryvodu dopovnennia sklad Hen. Sekr."] **Narodna volia** 144.

1917/10/00/
["Lyst do K.P. Vasylenka."] [In Russian] "Pismo k K.P. Vasilenko." **Russkoe slovo** 237 (17 Oct 1917): 5.

1917/10/17/
["Zaiava hen. sekr. tymchasomovu uriadi v spravi sklykannia ukrainskoho narodnoho soiumu."] (17 Oct 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 297.

1917/10/20/
["Circulaire (no. 1679) contre la campagne en faveur des pogromes."] * [Signed 20 October 1917].

[This is Vynnychenko 's " * ". Published in 1927 in French.] (V. Vinnitchenko).

1917/10/20/

["Dopovid na tretomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] (20 Oct 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Edited by P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. New York: Vyd-vo Chartoryiskyi, 1969: 40-1.

1917/10/21/

["Dopovid na tretomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] (21 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 303-4. ["Nam neobkhodima polnota vlasti."]

1917/10/28/

"Ko vsem grazhdanam Ukrainy." (28 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 329-30. [Against the bolshevik uprising.] (Hen. Sek.).

1917/10/29/

["Dopovid na semii sesii UTsR pro diialnist Hen. Sek."] (29 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshchine.** 1928: 342-3. [On the need for expanding the Gen. Sec. to include Secretariats for defence, commerce and means of communication.]

1917/10/31/

["Dopovid na tretomu vseukrainskomu viiskovomu zizdi."] "Promova holovy Hen. Sek. V. Vynnychenka na vidkryttia 3-ho Vseukrainskoho viiskovoho zizdu v Kyievi, 31 zhovtnia 1917." **Zasiv** 3 (Kharbin, 26 Nov 1917): 7-9.

1917/10/31/

["Dopovid na vseukr. robitnychomu zizdi."] (10-12 July 1917) In V.L. "Pershyi vseukr. rob. zizd." **Robochyi narod** 43 (31 Oct 1917): 4. [Reply to Maievskyi re: power to Soviets.]

1917/11/00/

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] **Kiievskaia mysl** (Nov? 1917). [Not consulted.]

1917/11/00/

"Panna Mara" Staged:
in 1917 (Fall) in Kiev at the Ukrainskyi derzhavnyi teatr. Costumes and set design by V.H. Krychevskyi.]

1917/11/01/

["Dekliaratsiia Hen. Sek. pro bezporiadkiv."] (1 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928:

353. [Argues the Gen. Sec. is in fact the Soviet of Peasants, Workers' and Soliders' Dep. Calls for order.]

1917/11/03/

"Uvedomlenie gen. sek. ot 16(3) noiabria o perekhode vlasti na Ukraine v ruki sekretariata." (3 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 525. (Gen. Sek.)

1917/11/03/

"Uvedomlenie gen. sek. ot 16(3) noiabria o perekhode vlasti na Ukraine v ruki sekretariata." (3 Nov 1917). **Kievskaia mysl** 265 (3? Nov 1917).

1917/11/10/

["Dopovid pro pytannia tsentralnoi vlady."] (10 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine,** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 370.

1917/11/11/

["Zaiava na zasid. predstavnykiv bankiv, tsukrozavodi..."] (11 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 378-9.

1917/11/14/

["Poiasnennia do III Universalu."] (In Russian)
"Ofitsialnoe raz'iasnenie Gen. Sek. k 3-mu universalu Ts.R. 27 (14) noiabria." **Kievskaia mysl** 273 (14? Nov 1917). (Vynnychenko, Martos, Lototsky)

1917/11/14/

["Tsyrkuliar - poiasnennia do III-oho universalu."] (14 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 383-4.

1917/11/16/

["Marksyzm i mystetstvo"] "Sposterezhennia neprofesionala: Marksyzm i mystetstvo." **Robitnyk** 195 (16 Nov 1917): 2; 197 (19 Nov 1917): 2.

1917/11/16/

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky." **Robitnycha hazeta** 186 (16 Nov 1917):: 2.

1917/11/20/

["Universal - tretii."] [In English]
"Universal of the Ukrainian National Council, (20 Nov 1917)." In **Text of the Ukrainian 'Peace'.** Cleveland: John T. Zubal, Inc., 1981: 5-7.

1917/11/21/

["Dopovid na zasid. maloi rady pro perehovory z Romuniieiu."] (21 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 397. ["We should recognize the massive support which the Sovnarkom has in Russia."]

1917/11/24/

"Teren." **Robitnyk** 202 (24 Nov 1917): 3; 203-209 (Dec 1917): 3.

1917/11/26/

["Dopovid na tretomu vseukrainskomu viiskovomu zizdi."] "Promova holovy Hen. Sek. V. Vynnychenka na vidkryttia 3-ho Vseukrainskoho viiskovoho zizdu v Kyievi, 31 zhovtnia 1917." **Zasiv** 3 (Kharbin, 26 Nov 1917): 7-9.

1917/11/30/

["Vidozva do hromadianstva Ukrainy."] (30 Nov 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 2. By P. Khrystiuk. New York, 1969: 79-81. (Vynnychenko and I. Mirnyi.)

1917/12/00/

"Mokhnonohe" Staged:
in 1917 (Dec) in Moscow by V.V. Maksimov at the Niezlobin Theatre.

1917/12/00/

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia." **LNV** 67, (July-Sept 1917): 21-73; 180-222; (Oct-Dec 1917): 24-91. (1917).

1917/12/01/

["Dekliaratsiia Hen. Sek. pro perehovory z kozakamy."] (1 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 421-2. [Defends actions in disarming bolshevik troops and allowing the Cossacks to cross Ukraine.]

1917/12/02/

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] **Vistnyk soiuza vyzvolennia Ukrainy** 49 (2 Dec 1917): 771-2.

1917/12/02/

["Lyst Kyivskomu huberniialnomu komissaru."] (2 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 426-7. [Re: peasant cttees taking unauthorized steps against the land holdings of Branitskyi.] (Gen. Sek.)

1917/12/02/

["Zaiava na zasid. maloi rady z pryvodu Kyivskykh podii."] (2 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 425-6. [Re: disarming of bol. troops; denial of secret talks; rumours of war with Russia...]

1917/12/04/

"Dopovid na pershomu zizdi vseukr. rady rob., viisk. i selianskykh dep."] (4 Dec 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. New York, 1969: 71.

1917/12/04/

"K voiskam ukrainskogo fronta i tyla." (4 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 434. [Excerpts.]

1917/12/04/

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] (4 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 433-4. [Repr. from "Litopys revoliutsii" no. 2 (1925)] (Vynnychenko and Pet.)

1917/12/05/

["Dopovid na pershomu zizdi vseukr. rady rob., viisk. i selianskykh dep."] (5 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 436-7. ["Bol. are conducting a nat'l struggle against Ukr."]

1917/12/05/

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rossii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho uriadu dlia tsiloi Rosii."] (5 Dec 1917) **Narodna Volia** 176 (5? Dec 1917).

1917/12/05/

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rossii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho uriadu dlia tsiloi Rosii."] (5 Dec 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 439. (Hen. Sek.)

1917/12/05/

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky." **Robitnycha hazeta** 199 (5 Dec 1917): 1.

1917/12/06/

["Vidozva Heneralnoho Sekretariiata do narodiv Rosii."] (6 Dec 1917) In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2.** By V. Vynnychenko. Vienna, 1920: 168-70.

1917/12/06/

["Vidozva Heneralnoho Sekretariiata do narodiv Rosii."] (6 Dec 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshchene**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 440-1.

1917/12/06/

["Vidozva Heneralnoho Sekretariiata do narodiv Rosii."] (6 Dec 1917) In **Kievskaia mysl** 290 (6? Dec 1917).

1917/12/07/

["Rozmova po priamomu linii."] (7 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 441. [Demands recog of the UNR; explains neutrality re: Don and bolsheviks.]

1917/12/09/

["Nota Hen. Sek. pro zakliuchennia myru."] (9 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 442-3. [Reprinted from "Kievskaia mysl" (no. 291).]

1917/12/09/

"V spravi utvorennia federalnoho pravytelstva: Nota Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." **Robitnycha hazeta** 202 (9 Dec 1917): 3.

1917/12/13/

["Dopovid na zasid. osmoi sesii tsentralnoi rady pro diialnist vsikh sekretarstv."] (13 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 445. ["Ukraine is an oasis of order."]

1917/12/15/

"Vidozva Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu do soldativ zakhidnoho i pivnichnoho frontu." **Robitnycha hazeta** 207 (15 Dec 1917): 3.

1917/12/16/

["Dopovid na zasid. osmoi sesii tsentralnoi rady."] (16 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 450. ["Yes, an oasis of order, in comparison with Russia... progroms are due to bolsheviks...]

1917/12/19/

["Pro pohromy"] [Interpellation juive au petit Conseil (deposee le 19 decembre 1917 par N. Syrkine...)] In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine**. 1927: 238-9.

1917/12/19/

["Vidpovid Sorokinomu pro prohromy."] (19 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 453. [Mentioned. "All measures are taken to assign troops to put an end to pogroms."]

1917/12/21/

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rosii pro stvorennia sots. tsen. uriadu] "V spravi myru vid Hen. Sek.: Do uriadiv respublik utvorenykh na terytorii Rosii." **Robitnycha hazeta** 212 (21 Dec 1917): 1.

1917/12/21/

["Vidpovid Litvakovomu."] (21 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 454. [Concerning the searches of Jews in the "Fransua" and "Semaden" restaurants.]

1917/12/21/

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] [In Russian]
"Otvet Generalnogo Sekretariiata na ultimatum Soveta Nar. komissarov." **Pravda** 209 (Moscow, 21 Dec 1917): 1-2.

1917/12/21/

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] [In Russian]
"Otvet Generalnogo Sekretariiata na ultimatum Soveta Nar. komissarov." **Novaia zhizn** 196 (21 Dec 1917): 3.

1917/12/22/

["Pro pohromy"] [Interpellation juive au petit Conseil (deposee le 19 decembre 1917 par N. Syrkine...)] **Kievskaia mysl** (21-22 Dec 1917).

1917/11/23/

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rossii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho tsentralnoho uriadu."] (23 Nov 1917) **Nova rada** 194 (23? Nov 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 403. (Hen. Sek.)

1917/12/24/

["Poiasnennia do tretoho Universalu."] "Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky." In **Ukrainets na zelenomu klyni** 20 (Vladyvostok, 24 Dec 1917): 1.

1917/12/24/

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky." **Robitnycha hazeta** 215 (24 Dec

1917): 1.

1917/12/29/

"Vidpovid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Sovitovi Narodnykh Komisariv." **Robitnycha hazeta** 216 (29 Dec 1917): 3.

1917/12/30/

"Vid Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky." **Robitnycha hazeta** 217 (30 Dec 1917): 2.

1918

1918/00/00/

Bazar: Piesa. Kiev, 1918.

1918/00/00/

["Brekhnia."] [In Russian]
"Lozh." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1918.

1918/00/00/

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1918 in Kiev by the Derzhavnyi dramatychnyi teatr, directed by O. Zaharov (under the title "Mirandolina").

1918/00/00/

["Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] [In Russian]
"Chernaia pantera i bilyi vedmid." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9.** 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1918.

1918/00/00/

Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid: Piesa. Kiev: Dzvin, 1918.

1918/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged:
in 1918 in Kiev by V. Kalyna.

1918/00/00/

["Decret du Directoire de la République d'Ukraine, en date du 26 Novembre 1918."] **Stavka** (1918?).

1918/00/00/

Fedko-khalamydnyk. Poltava, 1918.

1918/00/00/
"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1918? in Kiev by the "Molodyi teatr" by Hnat Iura.

1918/00/00/
Khoma Priadka. Fraishtadt: Visnyk Zhyttia, 1918. [Contains Khoma Priadka and Student.]

1918/00/00/
Panna Mara: Komediia na 4 dii. Kiev: Dzvin, 1918.

1918/00/00/
["Pryhvozhdeni."] [In Russian] "Prigvozhdeni." In his **Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9**. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1918.

1918/00/00/
["Rozmova z Hetmanom."] **Vistnyk polityky, literatury i zhyttia** 43 (1918): 567.

1918/00/00/
Saldatyky!. Petrograd: Drukar, [1918?].

1918/00/00/
Sobranie sochinenii: Tom 9. 2d ed. Moscow: Moskovskoe Knigoizdatelstvo, 1918. [Includes: "Lozh," "Chernaia pantera," "Prigvozhdeni."]

1918/00/00/
"Student." In his **Khoma Priadka**. Fraishtadt: Visnyk Zhyttia, 1918.

1918/00/00/
Ukrainski kazky: Dlia ditei z maliunkamy. Edited by Iu. Siryi and V. Vynnychenko. Kiev: Dzvin, 1918?

1918/00/00/
V chim nasha syla: Statti z 'Ukrainskoi zhizni'. Katerynoslav: Prosvita, [1918?]. [This is his "V chem nasha sila?"]

1918/00/00/
Velykyi portret V. Vynnychenka. Kiev: Robitnycha Hazeta, 1918.

1918/01/09/
"Chetvertyi Universal." (9 Jan 1918) In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2**. By V. Vynnychenko. Vienna, 1920: 244-52.

1918/01/13/

["Shchodennyk: Tom 1."] (13/26 Jan 1918) In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2.** By V. Vynnychenko. Vienna, 1920: 255-6.

1918/02/16/

"Synky-bazarnyky." **Visnyk polityky, literatury i zhyttia** 7 (Vienna, 16 Feb 1918): 93.

1918/03/00/

"Panna Mara: Komediia na 4 dii." **LNV** 2-3 (1918). [Written on a train between September-October 1917 during one of Vynnychenko 's trips to Petrograd.]

1918/03/13/

"Chyi Shevchenko?" **Robitnyk** 55 (13 Mar 1918): 1.

1918/03/14/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." **Robitnyk** 56-66 (14 Mar 1918 - 26 Mar 1918): 3.

1918/03/27/

"Sud." **Robitnyk** 67 (27 Mar 1918): 3; 68 (28 Mar 1918): 3; 69 (29 Mar 1918): 3; 70 (30 Mar 1918): 3.

1918/04/01/

"Borotba." **Robitnyk** 71-90 (1-23 Apr 1918): 3.

1918/04/28/

["Dopovid na ostannomu zasidanniu UTsR."] (28 April 1918) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Edited by P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. New York: Vyd-vo Chartoryiskykh, 1969: 171-3.

1918/06/00/

"Mizh dvokh syl." [Written between April-June 1918 while the author was living on Kniazha hora with Dunia and his wife.]

1918/07/14/

"Pered provalliam." **Robitnycha hazeta** 315 (11 July 1918) ; 317 (14 July 1918). [Vynnychenko may have been the author.]

1918/08/00/

"U hrafskomu maietku." [Work begun on it in August 1918 under the title of "Ekzamen Bohovi."]

1918/09/17/

"Rano ztomliuvatys." **Robitnycha hazeta** 369 (Mar [i.e. Sept.] 17 1918.

1918/09/22/

"Rano vtomliuvatys." **Visnyk polityky, literatury i zhyttia** 38 (22 Sept 1918): 521-2.

1918/10/15/

"Zaiava pro vnutrishnie i mizhnarodnie stanovyshche Ukrainy." (Oct 1918) SEE **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol. 3. By P. Khrystiuk, New York, 1969: 112. (Vynnychenko and P. Didushok.)

1918/10/20/

["Rozmova z spivrobitnykom 'Robitnychoi hazety'."] **Robitnycha hazeta** (20? Oct 1018).

1918/11/08/

"Vid prezydii Ukrainskoho natsionalnoho soiuzu." **Robitnycha hazeta** 411 (8 Nov 1918): 1; 412 (9 Nov 1918): 1.

1918/11/15/

["Vidozva Dyrektorii - persha."] (15 Nov 1918) In **Vidrodzhennia natsii**. Vol 3. By V. Vynnychenko. Vienna, 1920: 110-14 (Vynnychenko, Petliura, Shvets, Anriievskyi.)

1918/11/15/

["Vidozva Dyrektorii - persha."] (15 Nov 1918) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. Vol 3. By P. Khrystiuk. New York, 1969: 131-2. (Vynnychenko, Petliura, Shvets, Andriievskyi.)

1918/11/26/

["Decret du Directoire de la République d'Ukraine, en date du 26 Novembre 1918."]

1918/11/27/

"Do demokratii usikh natsii svitu i do demokratii derzhav Antanty zokrema." (27 Nov 1918). Excerpt. In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3**. Vienna, 1920: 269-70.

1918/12/01/

"Dohovir mizh UNR i ZUNR." (1 Dec 1918). In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3**. Vienna, 1920: 154-6.

1918/12/10/

"Le Directoire de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne a decide de..." [Dated 10 Dec 1918 in Vynnytsia]. (Vynnychenko, Makarenko, Andriievskyi, Shvets, Petliura.)

1918/12/15/

"Mizh dvokh syl" Staged:

in 1918 (Dec) in Kiev.

1918/12/25/

"Postanova #3." (25 Dec 1918). In **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Re: allocation of 2 million rubbles to military commission for soldiers interned in Austria and Germany.]

1918/12/25/

"Postanova #3." (25 Dec 1918). In I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 98.

1918/12/26/

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR."[Dated 26 Dec 1918]. (Signed by Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

1918/12/26/

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." **Robitnycha hazeta** 421 (26 Dec 1918): 2.

1918/12/26/

"Vid Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky." **Robitnycha hazeta** 421 (26 Dec 1918): 3.

1918/12/27/

"Do narodiv svitu: Nota uriadu UNR." **Robitnycha hazeta** 422 (27 Dec 1918): 2.

1918/12/28/

["Dopovid na Kyiv. ob'iedn. zasid. TsK vsikh partii."] (28-9 December 1918). In **Dva goda revoliutsii na Ukraine.** By Rafes. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1920: 121-2, 125. [Admits conducting talks with Entente.]

1919/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi: Opovidannia." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 188-235.

1919/00/00/

"Bazar" Staged:
in 1919 in Zaltsvedel camp by "Moloda Ukraina".

1919/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 124-53.

1919/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Kuz ta Hrytsun.** Odessa, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Bilia mashyny: opovidannie. Vienna-Kiev: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Borotba." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 5-84.

1919/00/00/

"Bosiak." In his **Tvory: Tom 9**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 5-120.

1919/00/00/

"Bozhky." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Chekannie." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 135-51.

1919/00/00/

"Chesnist z soboiu: Roman." In his **Tvory: Tom 10**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 3-268.

1919/00/00/

"Chest." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev-Dzvin, 1919: 277-91.

1919/00/00/

"Chudnyi epizod." In his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 2d ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 139-51.

1919/00/00/

"Dribnytsia: Moie ostannie slovo." In his **Tvory: Tom 4: Kuz ta Hrytsun**. 2d edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 5-24.

1919/00/00/

"Dym: Rizdviana kazka." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 142-64.

1919/00/00/

"Hlum." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 105-24.

1919/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 263-76.

1919/00/00/

Holod. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919. [25,000 copies printed.]

1919/00/00/
Holod: Opovidannia. Katerynoslav: Vyd. Kulturno-prosvitnoho viddilu pry hub. komit. Katerynoslavshchyny, 1919.

1919/00/00/
"Holota: Povist." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 5-141.

1919/00/00/
"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 3-75.

1919/00/00/
"Khochu!" In his **Tvory: Tom 11.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/
"Khto voroh?: Narys." In his **Tvory: Tom druhyi: Holota ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 179-97.

1919/00/00/
"Khvedko Khalamydnyk." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 87-112.

1919/00/00/
Khvedko Khalamydnyk. Odessa, 1919.

1919/00/00/
Kontrasty. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919. [25,000 copies printed.]

1919/00/00/
"Kontrasty: Narys." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 154-87.

1919/00/00/
"Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 7-65.

1919/00/00/
"Kumediia z Kostem." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 195-208.

1919/00/00/
"Kuplia." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 160-94.

1919/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 2d

edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 5-24.

1919/00/00/
Kuz ta Hrytsun. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/
Kuz ta Hrytsun. Odessa, [1919?] [Also contains Vynnychenko 's "Promin sontsia," and "Bilia mashyny."]

1919/00/00/
"Lantsiuh." In his **Tvory: Tom 4**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 199-216.

1919/00/00/
"Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z spomyniv." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 113-34.

1919/00/00/
"Maloros-ievropeiets." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. 3d edition. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 249-62.

1919/00/00/
Mizh dvokh syl: Drama na chotyry dii. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/
"Mizh dvokh syl" Staged:
in 1919 in Zaltsvedel Camp by "Moloda Ukraina."

1919/00/00/
"Mnimyi hospodin: Maliunok." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia**. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 236-59.

1919/00/00/
"Moment: Iz opovidan tiuremnoi Shekherezady." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 85-104.

1919/00/00/
"Na prystani: Eskis." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 198-214.

1919/00/00/
"Po-svii!" In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/
"Promin sontsia." In his **Kuz ta Hrytsun**. Odessa, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2st ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 76-86.

1919/00/00/

Promin sontsia. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919. [25,000 copies printed.]

1919/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 228-48.

1919/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Vienna-Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 125-42.

1919/00/00/

"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 9.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 121-72.

1919/00/00/

"Rivnovaha: Roman z zhyttia emigranta." In his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 3-274.

1919/00/00/

Saldatyky! Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 209-33.

1919/00/00/

"Student." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 2d ed. Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 112-20.

1919/00/00/

"Sud." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 180-98.

1919/00/00/

["Syla i krasa."] **Krasa i syla.** Odessa: Ukrainska Knyzhka, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Taiemna pryhoda." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 121-38.

1919/00/00/

"Taiemnist." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kiev: Dzvin, 1919: 152-88.

1919/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 9.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 207-46.

1919/00/00/

Temna syla. Katerynoslav: Vyd. Kulturno-prosvitnoho Viddilu pry Hub. Kom. Katerynoslavshchyny, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Temna syla: Z natury." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 165-78.

1919/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 9.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 173-206.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 1: Krasa i syla ta inshi opovidannia. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 3: Borotba ta inshi opovidannia. 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 4: Kuz ta Hrytsun i inshi opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 5: Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku i inshi opovidannia. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 6: Rivnovaha: Roman z zhyttia emigrantiv.. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 7: Po-svii!: Roman. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 8: Bozhky: Roman. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 9: Bosiak i inshi opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 10: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 11: Khochu: Roman. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta 'shchyryi': Lyst cholovika do zhinky." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Holota ta inshi opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 215-27.

1919/00/00/

Velykyi molokh: P'iesa na 3 rozdily. New York: Holos Pravdy, [1919?]

1919/00/00/

"Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'." In his **Tvory: Tom** 5. 2d ed. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 189-208.

1919/00/00/

"Zakon pro posylku do Frantsii, Belhii ta Italii i Anhlii ta Ameryky dvokh nadzvychainykh torhovelno-finansovykh misii." In I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 105-112.

1919/00/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 143-59.

1919/00/00/

Zapysna knyzhka. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919.

1919/00/00/

"Zina." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1919: 234-51.

1919/01/01/

"Zakon pro sluzhbu v derzhavnykh ustanovakh uriadovtsiv chuzhozemnykh piddantsiv." (1 Jan 1919) **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Reprinted from I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 98.]

1919/01/01/

"Zakon pro sluzhbu v derzhavnykh ustanovakh uriadovtsiv chuzhozemnykh piddantsiv." (1 Jan 1919) **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Reprinted from I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 98.]

1919/01/09/

["Dopovid na shestomu kongresu USDRP."] (9

Jan 1919). In **V ohni i buri revoliutsii.** By Isaak Mazepa. Vol. 1. Munich: Prometei, 1950: 79-81.

1919/01/09/

["Nota uriadu UNR."] (9 Jan 1919) **Izvestiia** (12 Jan 1919). (Vynnychenko, Pet., Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Shvets).

1919/01/09/

["Vidpovid Chicherinomu."] (9 Jan 1919). [Signed by Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Andriievskyi and Makarenko.]

1919/01/09/

["Vidpovid Chicherinomu."] (9 Jan 1919). [Signed by Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Andriievskyi and Makarenko.

1919/01/11/

"Appel du Directoire de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne au peuple Ukrainien, du 11 Janvier 1919."

1919/01/11/

"Appel du Directoire sur les pogromes." [Signed by Vynnychenko, Makarenko, Shvets, Pet. and Andriievskyi. Handed to reporters on 11 Jan 1919.]

1919/01/11/

"Zvertannia Dyrektorii do kozakiv i ievreiv: Telehrama 14 sichnia 1919 roku." [Dated 11 Jan 1919.]

1919/01/12/

["Nota uriadu UNR."] (9 Jan 1919) **Izvestiia** (12 Jan 1919). (Vynnychenko, Pet., Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Shvets).

1919/01/12/

"Promova na shostomu kongresi USDRP."] (10-12 Jan 1919)

1919/01/14/

"Zvertannia Dyrektorii do kozakiv i ievreiv: Telehrama 14 sichnia 1919 roku." (Vynnychenko,, Shvets, Pet., Andriievskyi, Makarenko.)

1919/01/16/

["Promova na derzhavni naradi."] (16 Jan 1919)

1919/01/16/

"Promova na shostomu kongresi USDRP."] (10-12 Jan 1919) **Robitnycha hazeta** 434 (16 Jan 1919).

1919/01/17/

"Ordre du front de Cholm et de Galicie." In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine.** Paris: Librairie du Trident, 1927: 33-4. [Signed 17 Jan 1919.] (Vynnychenko, Pet., Andriievskyi, Shvets)

1919/01/18/

"Zvertannia Dyrektorii do kozakiv i ievreiv: Telehrama 14 sichnia 1919 roku." **Respublikanski visti** 37 (Vynnytsia, 18 Jan 1919). [Dated 11 Jan 1919.]

1919/01/19/

["Zvertannia Dyrektorii do kozakiv i ievreiv."] **Nova rada** (19 Jan 1919).

1919/01/23/

["Dopovid na Trudovim kongresi."] (23 Jan 1919). In **V ohni i buri revoliutsii.** By Isaak Mazepa. Vol. 1. Munich: Prometei, 1950: 88-91.

1919/01/25/

"Promova na Trudovim kongresi."] (25 Jan 1919)

1919/01/30/

"Promova na Trudovim kongresi."] (25 Jan 1919) **Chervonyi prapor** 2 (30 Jan 1918 [i.e. 1919]).

1919/02/08/

["Le Directoire de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne a decide de..."] [Dated 10 Dec 1918 in Vynnytsia]. **Vistnyk derzhavnykh zakoniv** 5 (8 Feb 1919). (Vynnychenko, et al.)

1919/04/09/

"Do vsikh narodiv i ikh pravytelstv." **Ukrainskyi holos** (9 April 1919). [Concerning the Directory's desire to uphold Wilson's principles.] (Vynnychenko, Shvets, Petliura, Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Chekhovskyi)

1919/05/00/

["Lyst do TsK USDRP."] (May 1919). Mentioned in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 351, 363. [On the need to orient to world revolution.]

1919/06/00/

"Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1." [Written beginning with June 1919.]

1919/06/23/

"Na toi bik" [Written ca. 10 April - 23 June 1919].

1919/10/00/

"Vichnyi imperatyv." [Excerpts written in September-October 1919. Unpublished. Originally called "Boh-Ivanyshche", later "Hospod Boh-Ivanyshche," later "Radio-Harmata," and finally "Vichnyi imperatyv."]

1919/10/00/

"Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1." [Completed October 1919.]

1919/10/25/

"Temna syla: Z natury." Staged: in 1919 (Oct 25) in Winnipeg.

1920

1920/00/00/

Bazar: Piesa na chotyry rozdily. Winnipeg: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 1920.

1920/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Holod**. Kiev, 1920.

1920/00/00/

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariatu UTsR." [Dated 26 June 1917 o.s.] In **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1**. Kiev-Vienna: Christopher Rice & Sons, 1920: 260-9.

1920/00/00/

["Dopovid na Kyiv. ob'iedn. zasid. TsK vsikh partii."] (28-9 Dec 1918). In **Dva goda revoliutsii na Ukraine**. By Rafes. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1920: 121-2, 125. [Re: conducting talks with Entente.]

1920/00/00/

Holod. Kiev, 1920. [Contains his "Holod," "Khto voroh," "Kuz ta Hrytsun," "Bilia mashyny."]

1920/00/00/

Holota. Kiev: Vesukrainske Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo, 1920.

1920/00/00/

Hrikh: Drama na try dii. Kiev-Leipsig:

Nova Ukraina, 1920.

1920/00/00/
"Khto voroh?" In his **Holod**. Kiev, 1920.

1920/00/00/
Khvedko Khalamydnyk. Cherkassy, 1920.

1920/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Holod**. Kiev, 1920.

1920/00/00/
La Révolution en Danger! La Lettre du Parti Communiste ukrainien, Groupe Etranger aux Communistes et Soc. de l'Europe et de l'Amerique. Vienna, 1920. [This is his "Rev. v neb."]

1920/00/00/
Lez. Prague: Havlicek, 1920? [A Czech translation of Vynnychenko 's "Brekhnia."](V. Vynnycenko).

1920/00/00/
Lez: Drama o 3 jedn. Translated from Ukrainian by M. Horbacevska. Prague: Vsesvit, 1920. (V. Vynnycenko).

1920/00/00/
"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian." In his **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!** Vienna-Kiev: Nd, 1920: 21-39.

1920/00/00/
"Na [i.e. Ne] u v'somu chesni z soboiu: Vyryvky z neposlanoho lysta do TsK RKP" In his **Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!** Vienna: 1920: 83-94.

1920/00/00/
"Otvertyi lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii." [Part 2 of his] **Politychni lysty**. Kiev-Vienna: [UKP, Zakordonna Hrupa], 1920.

1920/00/00/
"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i rev. sots. Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky." [Part I of his] **Politychni lysty**. Kiev-Vienna: [UKP, Zakordonna Hrupa], 1920.

1920/00/00/
Proty Petliury. Introduction by V. Blakytnyi. Kiev: Vseukrainske Derzh. Vydavnytstvo, 1920.

1920/00/00/

Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi! Lyst Zak. Grupy U.K.P. do komunistiv i rev. sots. Evropy ta Ameryky. Vienna-Kiev: Nd, 1920. [Includes : "Lyst do ukr. rob.i selian."]

1920/00/00/

"Statut vyshchoho upravlinnia Ukrainy." In his **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1**. Kiev-Vienna: Christopher Rice & Sons, 1920: 298-303.

1920/00/00/

Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1. Kiev-Vienna: Christopher Rice & Sons, 1920. [15,000 copies printed.]

1920/00/00/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Savietska Ukraina v svitli pravdy." **Svoboda** (1920).

1920/00/00/

Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2. Kiev-Vienna: Christopher Rice & Sons, 1920.

1920/00/00/

Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3. Kiev-Vienna: Dzvin, 1920.

1920/00/00/

Vsesvitnia revoliutsiia. Kiev-Vienna: Nova Doba, 1920.

1920/00/00/

["Zapysky delegatsii."] "Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vyk. kom. rady rob. ta soldat. dep." In his **Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 1**. Kiev-Vienna, 1920: 159-70.

1920/01/20/

"Lyst do redaktsii." **Borotba** 3 (Vienna, 20 Jan 1920): 1.

1920/02/00/

"Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3." [Completed February 1920.]

1920/02/05/

"Dochka zhandarma" Staged: in 1920 (Feb 5) in Winnipeg.

1920/02/28/

"Politychna oriientatsiia Volodymyra Vynnychenka." **Svoboda** 26 (Jersey City, 28 Feb 1920): 2.

1920/03/03/

"Lyst do redaktsii." **Ukrainski robitnychi**

visti 9 (3 Mar 1920): 4.

1920/03/06/

"Dva fronty." **Nova doba** 1 (6 Mar 1920): 1. ["On Directory and Petliurivshchyna; petit-bourgoise UTsR; world rev.; trade links with Russia; defends Russian workers.]

1920/03/06/

"Shcho take teper ukrainska sotsiialdemokratiia?" **Nova doba** 1 (6 Mar 1920): 3-4. [The USDRP, Porsh, Mazepa, Shadlun, are attacked.]

1920/03/06/

"Ukrainska derzhavnist." **Nova doba** 1 (6 Mar 1920): 2-7. [Explains why monarchists and social democrats cannot build an independent Ukraine.]

1920/03/13/

"Utopiia i diisnist." **Nova doba** 2 (13 Mar 1920): 1. [Explains why petit bourgeois groups are utopian thinking that capitalist powers will bring independence to Ukraine. Re: world revolution.]

1920/03/20/

"Kuluarno-naftiani 'patrioty-vozhdi': Vyryvok z 'Vidrodzheniia natsii'." **Nova doba** 3 (20 Mar 1920): 3-5. [On the servilism of Galician politicians. Excerpts from v. 3, pp. 394-403."]

1920/03/20/

"Shche pro 'chlena verkhovnoi vlady." **Nova doba** 3 (20 Mar 1920): 3-4. [Exposé of A. Makarenko, Pet., Shvets.]

1920/03/20/

"Ukrainska derzhavna vlada." **Nova doba** 3 (20 Mar 1920): 1-2.

1920/03/27/

"Baraniache chornosotentstvo." **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 4-5. [A reaction to an article in "Ukrainskyi Prapor" which accused "Nd" of falsifying Baran's letters.]

1920/03/27/

"Beznadiini nadii." **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 1-2. [On Petliurivshchyna. No reason to be happy about the failure of Soviets in Ukraine. Describes rise in nat'l consciousness in peasants.]

1920/03/27/

"Do ukraintsiv-polonenykh!" **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 4. [Warns soldiers not to listen to

Pet.'s lies. Calls on soldiers to go over to bol. "sotniamy, chetamy, po dvoie, navit po-odynytsi."]

1920/03/27/

"Maniak bukhhalter." **Nova doba** 4 (27 Mar 1920): 5. [Says Pet. has "mania grandiosa."]

1920/04/01/

"Sluhy bez paniv." **Nova doba** 5 (1? April 1920): 1-2. [A critique of all Ukrainian parties to the right of the KP(b)U.]

1920/04/03/

"Harhepa zakordonom: Vyryvok z 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'." **Nova doba** 5 (3 April 1920): 3-5. [Excerpt of vol. 3, pp. 419-29. Makes fun of the Ukr. foreign missions and of the 'otamanshchynna'.]

1920/04/03/

"Vsim do hanebnoho stovpa pryhvozhdennym." **Nova doba** 5 (3 Apr 1920): 5. [A short note daring the Ukrainian Social Democrats (Porsh, Baran, Pet., Makarenko, Sknar, Didushok) to take **Nova doba** to court for slander.]

1920/04/10/

"Dusha selianskoi natsii: Do rokovyny smerty T.H. Shevchenka." **Nova doba** 6 (10 April 1920): 1. ["No nation has been so oppressed because of the abundance of natural resources..."]

1920/04/17/

"Pryroda malenkoho mishchanstva." **Nova doba** 7 (17 April 1920): 1-2. [On Pet.'s deal to split Ukraine into three parts.]

1920/04/17/

"Vsesvitnia revoliutsiia." **Nova doba** 7 (17 Apr 1920): 4-6.

1920/04/17/

"Zamists derzhavnosty -- petliurivshchyna: Uryvok z 'Vidrodzhennia natsii'." **Nova doba** 7 (17 Apr 1920): 3-5. [Pet., pogroms, etc.]

1920/04/24/

"Myru!" **Nova doba** 8 (24 April 1920): 2-3. ["Six years of war is enough!"]

1920/04/24/

"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i rev. sots. Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky." **Nova doba** 8 (24 Apr 1920): 1-2. ["The only real gov't of Ukraine is the Workers'-Peasants' Gov't of the Ukr.SSR.]

1920/04/24/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Kuluarno-naftiani 'patrioty-vozhdi." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 20 (Winnipeg, 24 Apr 1920): 3.

1920/04/28/

"Maniiak bukhhalter." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 21 (Winnipeg, 28 Apr 1920): 8.

1920/04/28/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Falshyve rozuminnia natsionalno-ukrainskoi derzhavnosty." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 21 (28 Apr 1920): 3; 22 (1 May 1920): 3; 23 (5 May): 3; 29 (26 May 1920): 5; 30 (29 May 1920): 3.

1920/05/05/

"Beznadiini nadii." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 23 (5 May 1920): 4.

1920/05/05/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Harhepa za kordonom." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 23 (Winnipeg, 5 May 1920): 4-5.

1920/05/06/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Volodymyr Vynnychenko pro ukrainski misii." **Svoboda** 55 (Jersey City, 6 May 1920): 2. [Pages 419-29 of vol. 3.]

1920/05/08/

"Vsim do hanebnoho stovpa pryhvozhdennym." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 24 (Winnipeg, 8 May 1920): 2.

1920/05/19/

"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 27 (19 May 1920): 4.

1920/05/19/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3."] "Zamist derzhavnosty -- Petliurivshchyna." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 27 (Winnipeg, 19 May 1920): 5.

1920/05/22/

["Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."] "Vynnychenkivtsiam v albom." **Pravda** 3-4 (Toronto, 1973): 344-7. [This is a reprint of Vynnychenko 's "Antantsko-ukrainska komediia" signed 22 May 1920.]

1920/05/22/

"Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i

revoliutsiinykh sotsiialistiv Zakhidnoi Evropy ta Ameryky." In **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** 94 (New York, 22 May 1920): 2.

1920/05/23/

["Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."] [In Italian] **Avanti** (23 May 1920).

1920/05/23/

["Antantsko-ukrainska komediia."] "Strashnyi dokument: Zrada V. Vynnychenka." **Shliakh peremohy** (17 Mar 1985): 3-4. [A reprint of Vynnychenko's "Antantsko-ukrainska komediia"].

1920/05/29/

"Lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii." **Nova doba** 13 (29 May 1920): 1-2.

1920/06/01/

["Lyst do Lenina."] (1 June 1920). Quoted in V.V., "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 5-6.

1920/06/01/

["Lyst do Lenina."] (1 June 1920) Excerpts in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 432-3. [Sent to Lenin June 1 1920.]

1920/06/02/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Parliamentaryzm, demokratiia i bolshevyzm." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 31 (Winnipeg, 2 June 1920): 3; 32 (5 June 1920): 3.

1920/06/03/

["Shchodennyk: Tom 1"] (3 June 1920) Excerpts quoted in his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu," **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 4.

1920/06/03/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (3 June 1920)

1920/06/06/

["Dokladna zapyska."] (6 June 1920). [Written in Moscow.]

1920/06/09/

"Dokladna zapyska TsK RKP." In **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 435-9. [Written 9 June 1920 for Lenin. Kameniev replied.]

1920/06/13/

"Holos ukraintsia: Z rozmovy z tov. V. Vynnychenkom" **Izvestiia** 127(974) (Moscow, 13 June 1920). [On the burning of Kiev by Polish legionnaires.]

1920/06/18/

"Taiemna pryhoda." In **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** 116-119 (18-22 June 1920): 2.

1920/06/19/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (9, 16, 19 June and 31 Aug 1920)

1920/06/23/

"Lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii." **Ukrainskyi holos** 24 (23 June 1920).

1920/06/24/

"Dribnytsia: Moie ostannie slovo." In **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** 121-143 (New York, 24 June 1920-July 1920): 2.

1920/07/00/

"Lyst nehidnyka." [Published on red paper and posted on the walls in Kiev in the summer of 1920. Mlynovetskyi, "Istoriia ukr. narodu" (p. 590) could have been sarcastically referring to his other letters.]

1920/07/00/

Politychni lysty. Kiev-Vienna: [UKP], 1920. [Contains his "Otvertyi lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii" & "Otvertyi lyst do t.t. komunistiv i rev. sots. Zakh. Evropy"]

1920/07/03/

"Holos ukraintsia: Z rozmovy z tov. V. Vynnychenkom" **Nova doba** 18 (3 July 1920): 1-2. [On the burning of Kiev by Polish legionnaires.]

1920/07/15/

["Lyst do Radeka."] (15 July 1920) Mentioned in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 446. [Vynnychenko asks for authorization from the 3d Internat'l to be a representativ in America.]

1920/08/00/

"Dokladna zapyska Vol. Vynnychenka tsentralnomu komitetovi RKP." **Vilna Ukraina** 1 (1921). [Written in August 1920 in Moscow. Re: Contradiction btw words & deeds of RKP.]

1920/08/00/

"Ukrainska derzhavna vlada." In his

Ukrainska derzhavnist. Vienna, 1920.

1920/08/00/

Ukrainska derzhavnist. Vienna-Kiev: Nd, 1920.

1920/08/07/

"Rozmova z tov. V. Vynnychenkom" **Nova doba** 23 (7 Aug 1920): 3-6.

1920/08/17/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** 166-9 (17-20 Aug 1920): 2.

1920/08/26/

["Lyst do Politbiura TsK UKP."] (26? Aug 1920) Excerpts in **Nova doba** 56 (Oct 1921): 1-3.

1920/08/28/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Viina z Sovitskoiu Rosiieiu." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 56 (Winnipeg, 28 Aug 1920): 2. [Pages 133--151 of vol. 2.]

1920/08/31/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (9, 16, 19 June and 31 Aug 1920)

1920/09/06/

"Zaiava." (Dated 6 Sept 1920).

1920/09/12/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (12 Sept 1920)

1920/09/20/

"Ne u vs'omu chesni z soboiu: Vyryvky z neposlanoho lysta do TsK RKP" [Written 20 Sept 1920).

1920/10/23/

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian." **Nova doba** 34 (23 Oct 1920): 2-5.

1920/11/00/

"Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 3." **Ukrainskyi holos** (7 April 1920 - 10 Nov 1920).

1920/11/03/

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian." **Vpered** 250-252 (Lviv, 30 Oct - 3 Nov 1920).

1920/11/09/

"Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!" (9 Nov 1920). **Nova doba** 39 (28 Nov 1920).

1920/10/12/

"Radist." In **Ukrainski shchodenni visti** (Oct 12-19 1920).

1920/11/15/

"Do TsK komunistychnoi partii (bilshovykiv) Ukrainy -- chlena zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskykh komunistiv V.K. Vynnychenka: Zaiava." **Komunist** 5 (1920). [Signed 6 Sept 1920.]

1920/11/15/

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian." **Svoboda** 138 (15? Nov 1920).

1920/11/18/

"Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian." In **Narodna volia** 138 (18 Nov 1920): 2-3.

1920/11/24/

["Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] "Lyst Vol. Vynnychenka do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian." **Ukrainskyi holos** 47 (24 Nov 1920): 3.

1920/11/28/

"Ne u vs'omu chesni z soboiu: Vyryvky z neposlanoho lysta do TsK RKP" **Nova doba** 39 (28 Nov 1920): 1-2.

1920/11/28/

"Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!" (9 Nov 1920). **Nova doba** 39 (28 Nov 1920).

1920/12/04/

["Shchodennyk: Tom 1"] (3 June 1920) Excerpts quoted in his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu," **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 4.

1920/12/00/

["Dokladna zapyska."] (6 June 1920). Excerpts quoted in Vynnychenko 's "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." **Nova doba** 40-2 (Dec 1920). [Different from the "Dokladna zapyska" written in August 1920.]

1920/12/04/

["Lyst do Lenina."] (1 July 1920). Quoted in V.V., "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 5-6.

1920/12/04/

"Porada berlinskym ukrainskym komunistam." **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 4.

1920/12/04/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (3 June 1920) In his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." (Part 1) **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 4-6.

1920/12/04/

"Zaklyk Z.G.U.K.P. do amerykanskykh robitnykiv ukraintsiv." (1 Dec 1920). **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 3-4. (Vynnychenko and V. Levynskyi).

1920/12/11/

"Dochka zhandarma" Staged: in 1920 (Dec 11) in Edmonton.

1920/12/11/

"Emanatsiia vid emanatsii abo berlinski nevyniatka." **Nova doba** 41 (11 Dec 1920): 1-2. [On the UKP-SR split.]

1920/12/11/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (9, 16, 19 June and 31 Aug 1920) In his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." (Part 2) **Nova doba** 41 (11 Dec 1920): 3-4.

1920/12/18/

"Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." **Nova doba** 40 (4 Dec 1920): 3-6; 41 (11 Dec 1920): 3-5; 42 (18 Dec 1920): 3-5.

1920/12/18/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (12 Sept 1920) In his "Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." (Part 3) **Nova doba** 42 (18 Dec 1920): 3-5.

1920/12/25/

["Zaklyk Z.G.U.K.P. do amerykanskykh robitnykiv ukrainstiv."] "V. Vynnychenko do ukrainskykh komunistiv v Amerytsi." **Svoboda** 155 (25 Dec 1920). (Vynnychenko and V. Levynskyi).

1920/12/28/

"Zaklyk Z.G.U.K.P. do amerykanskykh robitnykiv ukraintsiv." In **Narodna volia** 155 (Scranton, 28 Dec 1920): 2.

1921

1921/00/00/

Bazar: Piesa na chotyry rozdily.

Winnipeg: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 1921.

1921/00/00/

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1921 in Kiev by the Dramatychnyi teatr im. Shevchenka.

1921/00/00/

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." [Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 2?*. By P. Khrystiuk. Vienna, 1921. (Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

1921/00/00/

Die Revolution in Gefahr. Ein offener Brief der Auswartigen Gruppe der UKP an die Kommunisten und revolutionaren Sozialisten Europas und Amerikas. Wien, 1921. ["Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi."]

1921/00/00/

["Dopovid na ostannomu zasidanniu UTsR."] (28 April 1918) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Edited by P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. Vienna, 1921.

1921/00/00/

["Dopovid na tretomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] (20 Oct 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Edited by P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. Vienna, 1921.

1921/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Talisman.** 1921.

1921/00/00/

"Spivochi tovarystva: P'iesa na 4 dii." Staged:
in 1921 in Ukraine.

1921/00/00/

Talisman: Opovidannia. Foreword by P. Horetskyi. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1921.

1921/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Talisman: Opovidannia.** Foreword by P. Horetskyi. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1921.

1921/00/00/

["Vidozva do hromadianstva Ukrainy."] (30 Nov 1917) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 2. By P. Khrystiuk. Vienna, 1921: 79-81. (Vynnychenko and I. Mirnyi.)

1921/00/00/

["Vidozva Dyrektorii - persha."] (15 Nov 1918) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 3. By P. Khrystiuk. Vienna, 1921: 131-2. (Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Anriievskyi.)

1921/00/00/

"Zaiava pro vnutrishnie i mizhnarodnie stanovyshche Ukrainy." (Oct 1918) SEE **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol. 3. By P. Khrystiuk. Vienna, 1921: 112. (Vynnychenko and P. Didushok.)

1921/00/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In his **Opovidannia.** Edited and compiled by M. Molnar. Priashiv: Slovatske Pedahohichne Vydavnytstvo, 1968: 89-100.

1921/00/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In **Ukrainskyi smikh: Zbirnyk satyry, humorystyky i satyry ukrainskoho pysmentstva: Knyha** 1. Edited by O. Karashkevych. Stanyslaviv-Kolomyia: Bystrytsia, 1921: 23-34.

1921/01/00/

"Dokladna zapyska Vol. Vynnychenka tsentralnomu komitetovi RKP." **Vilna Ukraina** 1 (1921). [Written in August 1920 in Moscow. Re: Contradiction btw words & deeds of RKP.]

1921/01/03/

"Spravozdannia z podorozhy na Ukrainu." **Svoboda** 1 (3 Jan 1921): 5; 15 (20 Jan 1921): 3; 16 (21 Jan 1921): 3.

1921/01/07/

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1921 (Jan 7) in Vienna by the "Sich" drama group.

1921/01/29/

"Ukrainska komunistychna partiia (UKP) i Komunistychna partiia (bolshevykiv) Ukrainy (KP(b)U)." **Nova doba** 47 (22 Jan 1921): 1-2; 48 (29 Jan 1921): 2-4.

1921/01/31/

"Sprostovannia." **Neue Freie Presse** 20(268) (31 Jan 1921).

1921/02/03/

"Spodivannia ruskoi kontrrevoliutsii." **Nova doba** 7 (50) (12 Feb 1921): 1. [Written 3 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/05/

"Sprostovannia." **Nova doba** 6 (49) (5 Feb 1921): 6.

1921/02/12/

"Politychne shulerstvo." [Written on 12 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/12/

"Spodivannia ruskoi kontrrevoliutsii." **Nova doba** 7 (50) (12 Feb 1921): 1. [Written 3 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/13/

"'Istynno-ruska partiia'." **Nova doba** (5 Mar 1921): 1. [Written 13 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/14/

"Zavdannia suchasnoho momentu." [Written 14 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/19/

"Malenkyi pryklad." **Nova doba** 9, no. 52 (26 Feb 1921): 3. [Written on 19 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/19/

"Politychne shulerstvo." **Nova doba** 8(51) (19 Feb 1921): 1. [Written on 12 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/26/

"Malenkyi pryklad." **Nova doba** 9, no. 52 (26 Feb 1921): 3. [Written on 19 Feb 1921.]

1921/02/26/

"Z pryvodu areshtu chleniv Ts.K. partii ukrainskykh eseriv." **Nova doba** 52 (26 Feb 1921). (Anon.)

1921/02/26/

"Zavdannia suchasnoho momentu." **Nova doba** 52 (26 Feb 1921): 1-2. [Written 14 Feb 1921.]

1921/03/03/

"Shevchenko i sotsiialna revoliutsiia." Speech presented at the Shevchenko Concert in Prague, 3 April 1921.

1921/03/05/

"'Istynno-ruska partiia'." **Nova doba** (5 Mar 1921): 1. [Written 13 Feb 1921.]

1921/03/12/

"Ukrainska kontrerevoliutsiia." **Nova doba** 56 (19 Mar 1921): 1-3. [Written 10, 12 Mar 1921.]

1921/03/16/

"Mizh dvokh syl." **Ukrainskyi holos** 46 (17 Nov 1920): 12; 47 (24 Nov): 12; 48 (1 Dec): 12; 49 (8 Dec): 13; 50 (15 Dec): 12; 51 (22 Dec 1922 [i.e. 1920]); and every week thereafter until 16 Mar 1921.

1921/03/19/

"Ukrainska kontrerevoliutsiia." **Nova doba** 56 (19 Mar 1921): 1-3. [Written 10, 12 Mar 1921.]

1921/04/00/

"Zakon: P'iesa." [Written in Jan-Apr 1921).

1921/08/00/

"Zaiava." (Dated July-Aug 1921)

1921/08/03/

["Odvertyi lyst."] "'Novyi' odvertyi lyst Vynnychenka." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 62 (3 Aug 1921): 4.

1921/08/03/

["Zaiava."] "Do TsK komunistychnoi partii (bilshovykiv) Ukrainy -- chlena zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskykh komunistiv Volodymyr Kyrylovycha Vynnychenka: Zaiava." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 62 (3 Aug 1921): 4.

1921/08/06/

"Odvertyi lyst." **Vpered** (Lviv, 6 Aug 1921).

1921/09/00/

Ukrainska komunistychna partiia (UKP) i Komunistychna partiia (bolshevykiv) Ukrainy (KP(b)U). Vienna, 1921.

1921/10/00/

["Lyst do Politbiura TsK UKP."] (26? Aug 1920) Excerpts in **Nova doba** 56 (Oct 1921): 1-3.

1921/10/01/

"Dykhannia Moskvy: Zaiava zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskoi komunistychnoi partii." (Signed 1 Oct 1921) **Nova doba** 56 (22 Oct 1921): 1-3. (V.V. and H. Palamar).

1921/10/22/

"Dykhannia Moskvy: Zaiava zakordonnoi hrupy ukrainskoi komunistychnoi partii." (Signed 1 Oct 1921) **Nova doba** 56 (22 Oct 1921): 1-3. (V.V. and H. Palamar).

1922

1922/00/00/

["Rozmova z spivrobitnykom 'Robitnychoi hazety'."] In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 3. Vienna, 1922: 114-15.

1922/00/00/

["Vidpovid Chycherinomu."] [Dated 9 Jan 1919]. In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** Vol 4. By P. Khrystiuk. Vienna, 1922: 37-8. (Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko, Chekhovskyi.)

1922/00/00/

Anarchiste: Poetivost k sobe: Roman. Prague: Jaroslav Rehak, 1922. [This is Vynnychenko 's "Chesnist z soboiu" translated into Czech.] (V. Vynnycenko).

1922/00/00/

Brekhnia. Kiev, 1922.

1922/00/00/

"Brekhnia" Staged: in 1922 in Berlin at the Volksbuhne theatre.

1922/00/00/

Cerna pantera a bily medved. Translated into Czech by K. Kral. Prague: Havlicek, 1922. [Vynnychenko 's "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."](V. Vynnycenko)

1922/00/00/

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Russian] **Chesnost s soboi: Povest.** Berlin: Izd. Olga Diakova i Ko., 1922.

1922/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1922? in Berlin by Ivan Shmidt.

1922/00/00/

Der weisse bar und die schwarze pantherkatze schauspiel in 4 akten. Postdam: G. Kiepenheuer, 1922. [This is a German translation of his "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."] (W. Wynnytschenko.)

1922/00/00/

Die Luge: Drama in drei akten. An authorized translation from Ukrainian by Von Gustav Specht. Postdam: G. Kiepenheuer, 1922. [A German translation of "Brekhnia."]

1922/00/00/

"Die Schwarze Pantherin." [Film]. Produced by Johannes Guter in 1922. [Vynnychenko 's "Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid."]

1922/00/00/

["Foreword.] [In Russian]. In his **Talisman**. Berlin: Izd-vo E.A. Gutnova, 1922.

1922/00/00/

Hrikh: Drama na try dii. Kiev, 1922.

1922/00/00/

Khvedko Khalamydnyk. Poltava: Vydavnytstvo K.S.M.U., 1922.

1922/00/00/

"Moloda krov" Staged: in 1922 in Kiev.

1922/00/00/

Natus. Kiev: Spilka, 1922.

1922/00/00/

"Poiasnennia do III Universalu." In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 2. Vienna, 1922.

1922/00/00/

"Promova na shostomu kongresi USDRP."] (10-12 Jan 1919) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 4. Vienna, 1922.

1922/00/00/

"Promova na Trudovim kongresi."] (25 Jan 1919) In **Ukrainska revoliutsiia**. By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 4. Vienna, 1922: 60-1.

1922/00/00/

Student [In Czech]. Trans. by V. Charvat. Prague: Vilimek, [1922?].

1922/00/00/

["Talisman."] [In Russian]. **Talisman**. Trans. by R. Vynnychenko. Biblioteka Spolokha. Berlin: Izd-vo E.A. Gutnova, 1922. [With a foreword by the author.]

1922/00/00/

Talisman. Foreword by P. Horetskyi. Kiev: DVU, 1922.

1922/00/00/

Zakon: P'iesa. Translated into Russian. Berlin: Vozrozhdenie, 1922. [Originally entitled "RD".]

1922/00/00/

["Zamist peredmovy."] [In Russian] "Vmesto predisloviia." In his **Talisman**. Trans. by R. Vynnychenko. Berlin: Izd-vo E.A. Gutnova, 1922: 7-11.

1922/00/00/

Zapovit batkiv. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1922.

1922/00/00/

Zapovit batkiv. Kharkiv, 1922.

1922/00/00/

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In Russian] **Zapiski kurnosogo Mefistofelia.** Trans. by R.V. Berlin: Olga Diakova and Co., 1922.

1922/04/00/

"Bazar" Staged: in 1922 (Apr) in West Fort William.

1922/04/00/

"Pisnia Izraila." [Completed in April 1922 in Germany.]

1922/04/14/

"Viiut vitry, viiut buini..." [Completed in April 1922.]

1922/09/00/

"Chuzhi liudy" Staged: in 1922 (Sept) in Kiev by teatr im. M. Zankovetskoi.

1923

1923/00/00/

["Khvedko Khalamydnyk."] (In Russian) In **Dva mira**. Petrograd: Kniga, 1923.

1923/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

Babusyn podarunok. Kiev, 1923.

1923/00/00/

"Brekhnia" Staged: in 1923 in Kiev by the Teatr im. Zankovetskoi.

1923/00/00/

"Chest." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1923 (Fall) in New York with Nazimova playing the leading role.

1923/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1923 in Winnipeg in the Ukrainskyi robitnychyi dim.

1923/00/00/

"Dym." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

Ehrlich zu sich selbst. Berlin: Olga Diakova& Co., [1923?]. [A German translation of his "Chestnost s soboi."]

1923/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

Holota: P'iesa na 5 odmin. Stage play by D. Dmytrova. Kharkiv: DVU, 1923.

1923/00/00/

Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front. Prague-Berlin: Nova Ukraina, 1923.

1923/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

"Kontrasty." In his Tvory: Tom 1. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

"Lantsiuh." In his Tvory: Tom 2. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

"Maloros-evropyiets." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

Moloda krov. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/
"Na prystani." In **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/
"Rab krasy." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/
"Rano ztomliuvatys." Excerpts in **Ukrainska revoliutsiia.** By P. Khrystiuk. Vol. 3. Vienna, 1923.

1923/00/00/
"Saldatyky!" In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/
["Syla i krasa."] "Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**, Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/
"Temna syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923. [Includes: "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi."]

1923/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923. [Chest, Dym, Holod, Khto voroh?, Lantsiuh, Maloros-evropyiets, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Saldatyky, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi.]

1923/00/00/
"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/
Zakon: P'iesa na 4 dii. Prague: Nova Ukraina, 1923.

1923/00/00/
Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia. Liaptsig: Ukrainska Nakladnia, 1923.

1923/00/00/
Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv, 1923.

1923/00/00/
"Zaruchyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1923.

1923/00/00/

Znamenna podiia. Prague-Berlin, 1923.

1923/01/00/

"Brekhnia" Staged: in 1923 (Jan-Feb) in Kharkiv by the Kiev Derzhavnyi teatr im. Shevchenka.

1923/01/00/

"Hrikh." **Nova Ukraina** 1-2 (Jan-Feb 1923): 4-55.

1923/01/00/

"Moloda krov" Staged: in 1923 (Jan 27-8) in Kharkiv by the teatr im. Lesi Ukrainky.

1923/01/28/

"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1923 (Jan 27-8) in Kharkiv by the Teatr im. Lesi Ukrainky.

1923/02/00/

"Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front." **Nova Ukraina** (Jan-Feb 1923): 56-71.

1923/02/00/

"Moloda krov" Staged: in 1923 (Jan-Feb) in Kharkiv by the Kyivskyi derzhavnyi teatr im. T.H. Shevchenka.

1923/02/17/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1923 (Feb 17) in Winnipeg.

1923/03/00/

"Zakon." **Nova Ukraina** 3 (Mar, 1923): 1-31; 4 (Apr 1923): 1-26.

1923/03/28/

["Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front"] "V.V. pro radiansku Ukrainu." **Svoboda** (28 Mar 1923). [This is the introduction to his "Iedyn. rev-dem. nat. front."]

1923/03/31/

["Iedynnyi revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi natsionalnyi front"] "Iaka dumka V. Vynnychenka pro ukrainsku polityku?" **Svoboda** (29,30,31 Mar 1923). [Part 2 of Vynnychenko 's "Iedyn. rev-dem. nat. front."]

1923/04/00/

"Do TsK komunistychnoi partii (bilshovykiv) Ukrainy -- chlena zak. hrupy ukr. komunistiv V.K. Vynnychenka: Zaiava." **Chervonyi shliakh**

4-5 (1923): 119(1)-119(4). [Signed 6 Sept 1920.]

1923/04/14/
"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1923 (Apr 14) in Winnipeg.

1923/05/00/
"Zaiava." In S.V .Pylypenko, "Vynnychenko i Kurakh: Dokumentalna istoriia z komentaramy S. Pylypenka." **Chervonyi shliakh** 4-5 (1923): 116.

1923/06/00/
"Znamenna podiia." **Nova Ukraina** 6 (June 1923): 8-27. [Re: "Chervonyi shliakh".]

1923/08/00/
"Ievreiske pytannia na Ukraini." **Nova Ukraina** 7-8 (1923): 20-31.

1923/08/00/
"Zaiava." **Nova Ukraina** 7-8 (1923): 286. (Dated 6 Sept 1920).

1923/10/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1923 (fall) in Stockholm and in Copenhagen.

1923/11/00/
"Na toi bik." **Nova Ukraina** 11 (Nov 1923): 109-206; 12 (Dec 1923): 189-233.

1924

1924/00/00/
"Bosiak." In his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1924 by the Teatr im. Franka.

1924/00/00/
"Chekannia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Hlum." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." In his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
Khto voroh?: Narys. Biblioteka Molodoho Lenintsia. Kharkiv: DVU, 1924.

1924/00/00/
["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."]
"Fedko-khalamydnyk." In his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."]
Fedko-khalamydnyk. Biblioteka Molodoho Lenintsia. Kharkiv: DVU, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Kumediia z Kostem." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
Kumediia z Kostem: Opovidannia. Biblioteka Molodoho Lenintsia. Kharkiv: DVU, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Kuplia." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Malenka rysochka." In his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Memento" Staged: in 1923-24 by the M. Zankovetska Theatre.

1924/00/00/
"Moment." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
Na toi bik. Prague: Nova Ukraina, 1924.

1924/00/00/
Nova Ukraina. Edited by V.V. Prague-Berlin, 1923-1924.

1924/00/00/
Panna Mara: Komediia na 4 dii. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Slipyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Taiemnist." In his **Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924. [Moment, Hlum, Rabyni spravzhnoho, Zapysna knyzhka, Kuplia, Kumediia z Kostem, Shchos bilshe za nas, Zina, Slipyi.]

1924/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 5: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924. [Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku, Promin sontsia, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Malenka rysochka, Chekannia, Taiemnist, Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'.]

1924/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924. [Bosiak, Teren, Talisman.]

1924/00/00/

"Vyryvok z 'Spomyniv'." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**.

Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/00/00/
"Zina." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1924.

1924/02/11/
"Vnutrishnie stanovyshche v Rosii i na Ukraini ta iedynyi ukr. revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi front." Speech in Prague, 11 Feb. 1924. ["Go back to Ukraine; get into positions of power...']

1924/03/01/
"Vnutrishnie stanovyshche v Rosii i na Ukraini ta iedynyi ukr. revoliutsiino-demokratychnyi front." Excerpts in L. D., "Prazhskyi lyst." **Litopys** 9 (1 Mar 1924): 131-2.

1924/03/29/
"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1924 (Mar 29) in Winnipeg.

1925

1925/00/00/
"Babusyn podarunok." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

1925/00/00/
"Baryshenka." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

1925/00/00/
"Borotba." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

1925/00/00/
Brekhnia: Piesa. Lviv: Dzvin, 1925.

1925/00/00/
Holod. Kharkiv: DVU, 1925.

1925/00/00/
Holod. Pavlograd, 1925.

1925/00/00/
"Katorzhnyk Pinia." In **Do peremohy: Chytanka**. Vol. 1. 3d edition. Edited by Mykh. Panchenko.

Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1925: 163-72.

1925/00/00/
"Khoma Priadka." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

1925/00/00/
Kontrasty: Narys. Bibliotechka Khudozhnoi Literatury. Kharkiv: DVU, 1925.

1925/00/00/
["Kuz ta Hrytsun."] [In Tatar] **Eki Argadas.** [Simferopol, 1925].

1925/00/00/
"Na vyhoni." In **Do peremohy: Chytanka.** Edited by Mykhailo Panchenko. 3d ed. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1925: 104-9.

1925/00/00/
Natus: P'iesa na 4 dii. Lviv: Dzvin, 1925.

1925/00/00/
"Olaf Stefenzon." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

1925/00/00/
"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

1925/00/00/
"Roboty!" In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925.

1925/00/00/
"Saldatyky!" In **Do peremohy: Chytanka.** Edited by Mykh. Panchenko. Part 1. 3d rev. ed. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1925: 210-16.

1925/00/00/
"Sud." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH 1925.

1925/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925. [Includes: "Olaf Stefenzon," "Radist," "Baryshenka," and "Babusyn podarunok."]

1925/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 8: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1925. [Includes: "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Sud," "Khoma Priadka."]

1925/00/00/

Zapysna knyzhka: Opovidannia. Biblioteka Knyhospilky. Seriia humoru i satyry, 3. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1925.

1925/08/00/

"Atelie shchastia." [Written in August 1925. Unpublished? However, SEE "Poklady zolota."]

1925/10/31/

"Natus: P'iesa na 4 dii." Staged: in 1925 (Oct 31) in Winnipeg.

1925/11/14/

"Za dokumentalni dani: Z lystuvannia V. Vynnychenka z A. Prykhodkom u spravi povorotu na Rad. Ukrainu." **Dilo** 256 (14 Nov 1925): 2-5.

1926

1926/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Bazar." In his **Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Bazar: Piesa na chotyry rozdily." In his **Tvory: Tom 11.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 111-91.

1926/00/00/

Bazar: Piesa. Lviv: Dzvin, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Book 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 1.**. Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Brekhnia." In his **Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory**. Comp. by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

["Brekhnia."] [In Italian] "Noil e il mondo." In **Le Menzogne: Dramma ucraino in tre atti**. Rome: Italiane e Straniere, 1926: 683-712.

1926/00/00/

"Brekhnia: Piesa na try dii." In his **Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory: Brekhnia, Spivochi tovarystva**. Kiev-Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 5-91.

1926/00/00/

"Chekannia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

["Chekannia."] [In Russian] **Ozhidanie: Rasskaz**. Moscow: Zemlia i Fabrika, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Chesnist z soboiu." In his **Tvory: Tom 16**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

["Chesnist z soboiu."] [In Yiddish] New York, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Chesnist z soboiu: Roman." In his **Tvory: Tom 16**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Chudnyi epizod." In his **Tvory: Tom 4**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

"Chuzhi liudy." In his **Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Chuzhi liudy: Piesa na p'iat rozdiliv." In his **Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni Tvory**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 1-109.

1926/00/00/

"Dribnytsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

"Dyzharmoniia: Dramatychni kartyny na 4 dii" Staged:
in 1925-1926 by the M. Zankovetska theatre.

1926/00/00/

"Fedko-khalamydnyk." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

"Hlum." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 2.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Holota." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Book 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Holota." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Holota." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 1.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Hrikh." In his **Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] [In Yiddish] Kiev, 1926.

1926/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] [In Russian] **Fedka-khalamidnik: Rasskaz.** Trans. by A. Altaev. Moscow: Zemlia i Fabrika, 1926.

1926/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] **Fedko-khalamydnyk.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Kontrasty." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 2.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Kontrasty." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Kontrasty." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Kumediia z Kostem." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
["Kumediia z Kostem."] [In Russian] **Istoriia s Kostei: Rasskaz.** Moscow: Zemlia i Fabrika, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Kuplia." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 1.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/
["Kuz ta Hrytsun."] [In Russian] **Kuz i Hrytsun: Rasskaz.** Moscow: Zemlia i Fabrika, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Malenka rysochka." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/
"Memento." In his **Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento.** Kiev-Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 109-202.

1926/00/00/

"Memento." In his **Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Book 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Moment." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

Na loni pryrody. Kiev, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Panna Mara." In his **Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

["Peremozhets."] [In Russian] **Pobeditel: Rasskaz.** Universalnaia Biblioteka, 153. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Poklady zolota: Roman." [Written in 1926.]

1926/00/00/

Povorot na Ukrainu. Lviv: Hrupa Ukrainskoi Sotsiialistychnoi Molodi "Vilna Hromada," 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 2.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
["Radist."] [In Russian] **Radost.** Universalnaia Biblioteka, 159-60. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Saldatyky!" In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 2.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Tvory: Tom 3.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Spivochi tovarystva." In his **Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Spivochi tovarystva: P'iesa na 4 dii." In his **Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory: Brekhnia, Spivochi tovarystva.** Kiev-Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 93-177.

1926/00/00/
"Student." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/
"Taiemna pryhoda." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/
"Taiemnist." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/
"Taina." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/
"Temna syla." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 2.** Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 1. Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926. [Includes: "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi."]

1926/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 1. Book 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926. [Includes: "Bilia mashyny," "Holota," "Mnimyi hospodin."]

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 1. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926. [Contains his "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," "Holota," "Bilia mashyny," "Mnimyi hospodin."]

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 3. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926? [Includes his "Moment," "Hlum," "Rabyni spravzhnoho," "Zapysna knyzhka," "Kuplia," "Kumediia z Kostem," "Shchos bilshe za nas," "Zina."]

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 4. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926? [Includes his "Dribnytsia," "Student," "Kuz ta Hrytsun," "Taiemna pryhoda," "Chudnyi epizod," "Taina."]

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 5. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926? [Includes his "Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku," "Promin sontsia," "Fedko-khalamydnyk," "Malenka rysochka," "Chekannia," "Taiemnist," "Vyryvky z 'Spomyniv'."]

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 9: Dramatychni tvory: Dyzharmoniia, Shchabli zhyttia. ("Dyzharmoniia," "Shchabli zhyttia.") Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory: Brekhnia, Spivochi tovarystva. Kiev-Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 12: Dramatychni tvory:

Brekhnia, Spivochi tovarystva. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, [1926].

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky Kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

V hrafskomu maietku. Kiev, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Velykyi molokh." In his **Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Velykyi molokh." In his **Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926: 8-106.

1926/00/00/

"Velykyi sekret: Komediia na 4 dii." . [Written in 1926?]

1926/00/00/

Vybrani tvory: Tom 1. Kiev: Chas, 1926.

1926/00/00/

"Vyryvok iz 'Spomyniv'." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926?

1926/00/00/
"Zakon." In his **Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia." In his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Kiev: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman." In his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Zapysna knyzhka." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Zaruchyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Zaruchyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. Book 1. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1926.

1926/00/00/
"Zina." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1926.

1926/03/06/
"Moloda krov" Staged: in 1926 (6 Mar 1926) in Winnipeg.

1926/06/00/
"Bilesenka." [Vynnychenko finished writing this by June 1926. Published in 1960.]

1926/06/25/
"Nebezpechni nastroi." **Dilo** 138 (25 June 1926): 2; 139 (26 June 1926): 2.

1927

1927/00/00/
["Pro pohromy"] [Interpellation juive au petit Conseil (deposee le 19 decembre 1917 par N. Syrkine...)] In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine** 1927: 238-9.

1927/00/00/

["Telegrama do Chicherina."] (9 Jan 1919) In **Velyka revoliutsiia**. By Mykyta Shapoval. Prague: Vilna Spilka ; Ukrainskyi Robitnychyi Universytet, 1927: 132-3.

1927/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Appel du Directoire de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne au peuple Ukrainien, du 11 Janvier 1919." In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine**. Paris, 1927: 29-30.

1927/00/00/

"Appel du Directoire sur les pogromes." In **Les pogromes en Ukraine sous les gouvernments ukrainiens, 1917-1920**. Paris, 1927: appendix, 36-7. [Signed by Vynnychenko, Makarenko, Shvets, Petliura and Andriievskyi.]

1927/00/00/

"Babusyn podarunok." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Babusyn podarunok." In his **Vybrani tvory: Tom 7**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Babusyn podarunok. Kiev: Chas, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Baryshenka." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Bilia mashyny. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Borotba." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Bosiak." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Bosiak." In his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Bosiak." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Comp. by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Chekannia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Chekannia. Kharkiv, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Chest." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Chest." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Chest. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid." In his **Tvory: Tom 13.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid." In his **Tvory: Tom 13.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Chudnyi epizod." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Circulaire (no. 1679) contre la campagne en faveur des pogromes." [Signed 20 October 1917]. In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine.**. 1927: 3-4. [This is Vynnychenko 's " * ".] (V. Vinnitchenko).

1927/00/00/

"Decret du Directoire de la République d'Ukraine, en date du 26 Novembre 1918." In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine** 1927: 26. [This is the Directory's " * ".]

1927/00/00/

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." [Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In **Velyka revoliutsiia**. By Mykyta Shapoval. Prague: Vilna Spilka, 1927 : 127-8. (Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

1927/00/00/

"Dochka zhandarma." In his **Tvory: Tom 13**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Dochka zhandarma." In his **Tvory: Tom 13**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev : RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Dribnytsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Dym." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Dym." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Hlum." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Hlum: Lyst iz tiurmy. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Holod. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Holod. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927?

1927/00/00/

"Holota." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Holota. Illustrated by P. Lapyna. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Holota. Kiev: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

["Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku."] [In Russian]
"Istoriia Akimova zdaniia." In his **Obruchenie**. Kharkiv: Ukrainskii Rabochii, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Khto voroh?: Opovidannia. Kharkiv, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."]
"Fedko-khalamydnyk." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."]
"Fedko-khalamydnyk." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Khvostati." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Kontrasty: Narys. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Krasa i syla. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Krasa i syla. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Kumediia z Kostem." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Kumediia z Kostem. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Kumediia z Kostem. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Kuplia." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

["Kuplia."] [In Russian]
"Kuplia." In his **Obruchenie**. Kharkiv: Ukrainskii Rabochii, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Kuplia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Tvory: Tom 4**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Kuz ta Hrytsun. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Lantsiuh." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Lantsiuh." In his Tvory: Tom 2. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Le Directoire de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne a decide de..." [Dated 10 Dec 1918 in Vynnytsia]. In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine** 1927: 28. (Vynnychenko et al.)

1927/00/00/

"Malenka rysochka." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Malenka rysochka." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z spomyniv. Cover design by Zh. Tytarenko. [Kiev]: RUKH, [1927].

1927/00/00/

"Maloros-evropeiets." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Maloros-evropyiets." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Maloros-evropyiets." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Maloros-evropyiets. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna.** Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin: Maliunok." In **Satyra i**

humor: Almanakh-dekliamator. Ed. by V. Atamaniuk. Kiev, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Moloda krov." In his **Tvory: Tom 14**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Moloda krov: P'iesa na chotyry dii." In his **Tvory: Tom 14: Dramatychni tvory: Moloda krov, Pryhvozhdeni**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927: 4-72.

1927/00/00/
"Moment." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
Moment. Cover design by Zh. Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, [1927].

1927/00/00/
"Na loni pryrody." In **Satyra i humor: Almanakh-dekliamator**. Ed. by V. Atamaniuk. Kiev, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Na loni pryrody." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/
Na loni pryrody. Kiev: Chas, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Na prystani." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Na prystani." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Na prystani." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Narodnyi diiach." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Natus." In his **Tvory: Tom 13**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Natus." In his **Tvory: Tom 13**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Obruchenie: Povesti i rasskazy. Foreword by Andrii Richytskyi. Cover design by Strakhova. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Olaf Stefenzon." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Ordre du front de Cholm et de Galicie." In **Documents sur les pogromes en Ukraine.** Paris: Librairie du Trident, 1927: 33-4.(Vynnychenko, Pet., Andriievskyi, Shvets)

1927/00/00/

"Khoma Priadka." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 5.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Promin sontsia. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Promin sontsia. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Pryhvozhdeni." In his **Tvory: Tom 14.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Pryhvozhdeni: P'iesa na chotyry dii." In his **Tvory: Tom 14.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1927: 72-171.

1927/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Rab krasy. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." In his **Tvory: Tom** 3. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

["Radist."] [In Russian]
"Radost." In his **Obruchenie**. Kharkiv: Ukrainskii Rabochii, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Rivnovaha." In his **Tvory: Tom** 17. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Rivnovaha." In his **Tvory: Tom** 17. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Roboty!" In his **Tvory: Tom** 8. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Saldatyky!" In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Saldatyky!" In his **Tvory: Tom** 8. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Tvory: Tom** 3. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Shchos bilshe za nas. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Slipyi." In his **Tvory: Tom** 7. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Slipyi: Opovidannia. Kharkiv, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Student." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
Student. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Sud." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/
Sud. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Taiemna pryhoda." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
Taiemna pryhoda. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Taina." In his **Tvory: Tom 4.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
Taina. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 6.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Talisman." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Temna syla." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Temna syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/
"Temna syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 2.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Temna syla. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Temna syla. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Teren." [In Russian]. In his **Obruchenie.** Kharkiv: Ukrainskii Rabochii, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 2. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 2. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Dym," "Temna syla," "Khto voroh?" "Na prystani," "Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi," "Rab krasy," "Maloros-evropeiets," "Holod," "Chest," "Lantsiuh."]

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 4. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1927. [Chudnyi epizod, Dribnytsia, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Student, Taiemna pryhoda, Taina.]

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 5. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927. [Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku, Promin sontsia, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Malenka rysochka, Chekannia, Taiemnist, Vyryvok z 'spomyniv'.]

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 6. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 6. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Bosiak," "Radist," "Teren," "Talisman."]

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 7. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Olaf Stefenzon," "Baryshenka," "Babusyn podarunok," "Slipyi," "Na loni pryrody," "U hrafskomu maietku."]

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 8. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927. [Includes his "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Saldatyky," "Sud," "Narodnyi diiach," "Priadka," "Khvostati."]

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 13: Dramatychni tvory: Chorna pantera, Natus, Dochka zhandarma. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 13: Dramatychni tvory: Chorna pantera, Natus, Dochka zhandarma. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 14: Dramatychni tvory: Moloda khrov, Pryhvodzheni. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 14: Dramatychni tvory: Moloda krov, Pryhvozhdeni. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"U hrafskomu maietku." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." In **Satyra i humor: Almanakh-dekliamator**. Compiled by V. Atamaniuk. Kiev, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." In his **Tvory: Tom 2**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Vybrani tvory. Compiled and foreword by O. Hermaize. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Vybrani tvory. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Edited by V. Arnoutov, O. Popov. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Vyryvok iz spomyniv. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Vyryvok z 'Spomyniv'." In his **Tvory: Tom 5**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia. Kiev-Liaptsig: Ukrainska Nakladnia, [1927?].

1927/00/00/

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia. Kharkiv: Proletarii, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Zina." In his **Tvory: Tom 3**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1927.

1927/00/00/

"Zina." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled by Ark. Liubchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1927.

1927/00/00/

Zina. Kharkiv, 1927.

1927/12/03/

"Poklady zolota: Uryvok." In **Ukrainski visti** 56 (Paris, 3 Dec 1927).

1928

1928/00/00/

["Bosiak"] "Dnipro." In **Shyrokym krokom: Chytanka dlia doroslykh.** Edited by L. Iakymchuk. 2d ed. [Kharkiv]: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1928. [Excerpt from Vynnychenko 's "Bosiak."]

1928/00/00/

["Dekliaratsiia Hen. Sek. pro perehovory z kozakamy."] (1 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 421-2. [Defends actions in disarming bol. troops and allowing the Cossacks to cross Ukraine.]

1928/00/00/

["Dekliaratsiia Hen. Sek. UTsR odobrenna plenumom UTsR na zasid. iz 10(27/4) chervnia 1917 r."] In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 485-8.

1928/00/00/

["Dekliaratsiia Hen. Sek. pro bezporiadkiv."] (1 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 353. [Argues the Gen. Sec. is in fact the Soviet of Peasants, Workers' and Soliders' Dep. Calls for order.]

1928/00/00/

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariata."] (24 Sept 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 257-8.

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na chetvertomu zizdi USDRP."] (30 September 1917). Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 270.

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na ekstrennomu sessii maloi rady pro instruktsii tymchasovoho uriadu."] (5-8 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 193-6.

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na ekstrennomu ob'ied. zasid. rady rob. i viisk. dep."] (20 April 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 45. [Re: Polish example of struggling for nat'l rights as example for "Bohdanivtsi."]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (31 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 99. Excerpts. [Against socialization of land, but in favour of its municipalization.]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] (6 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 66. Excerpts. [Calls on repr. of SD parties to renounce ideas of annexation and support Ukr. repr. at Int'l peace talks.]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. selianskomu zizdi."] (30 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 96-7. Excerpts. [Kerensky is attacked and UTsR is call a legislative body with no power in its hands.]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na pershomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] (5 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 65. Excerpts. ["We are not marching on Russia with bayonets, but neither will we permit them to march on us."]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na pershomu zizdi vseukr. rady rob., viisk. i selianskykh dep."] (5 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 436-7. ["Bolsheviks are conducting a nat'l struggle against Ukrainians."]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na semii sesii UTsR pro diialnist Hen. Sek."] (29 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 342-3. [Re: need to expand the Gen. Sec. to include Sec's for defence, commerce and communication.]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na tretomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] (21 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 303-4. ["Nam neobkhodima polnota vlasti."]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na vseukr. robitnychomu zizdi."]

(11 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 166. [On the bolsheviks' agitation having some basis in fact.]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na zakrytomu zasid. maloi rady v spravi formovannia novoho skladu Hen. Sek."] (11 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 204.

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na zasid. maloi rady pro sklykannia ukrainskoho narodnoho soimu."] (10 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 287-8. ["Ukrainian Social Democrats are against state independence..."]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na zasid. maloi rady pro perehovory z Romuniieiu."] (21 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 397. ["We should recognize the massive support which the Sovnarkom has in Russia."]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na zasid. maloi rady v spravi formovannia novoho sekretariata"] (13 Aug 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 208.

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na zasid. osmoi sesii tsentralnoi rady."] (16 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 450. ["Yes, an oasis of order, in comparison with Russia... progroms are due to bolsheviks...]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na zasid. osmoi sesii tsentralnoi rady pro diialnist vsikh sekretarstv."] (13 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 445. ["Ukraine is an oasis of order."]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid na zasid. Kyiv. vyk. kom., soiuz ob'ïed. hrom. orhan."] (4 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 152. [Re: pressure be exerted to show bolshevizm that if it takes power, Ukr. dem. is not on its side.]

1928/00/00/

["Dopovid pro pytannia tsentralnoi vlady."] (10 Nov 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 370.

1928/00/00/

["Lyst Kyivskomu huberniialnomu komissaru."] (2 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 426-7. [Re: peasant cttees taking unauthorized steps against the land holdings of Branitskyi.] (Hen. Sek.)

1928/00/00/

["Memorandum tymchasovomu uriadu z pryvodu dopovnennia sklad Hen. Sek."] (13 Oct 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 293. [Reprinted from "Narodna volia." (no. 144).]

1928/00/00/

["Nota Hen. Sek. pro zakliuchennia myru."] (9 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 442-3. [Reprinted from "Kievskaia mysl" (no. 291).]

1928/00/00/

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rossii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho tsentralnoho uriadu."] (23 Nov 1917).In **Nova rada** 194 (23? Nov 1917). Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 403. (Hen. Sek.)

1928/00/00/

["Oholoshennia vsim respublikam i avtonomnym oblastiam Rossii pro stvorennia sotsiialistychnoho uriadu dlia tsiloi Rosii."] (5 Dec 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 439. (Hen. Sek.)

1928/00/00/

["Poiasnennia do III Universalu."] "Ofitsialnoe raz'iasnenie Gen. Sek. k 3-mu universalu Ts.R. 27 (14) noiabria." (In Russian) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 528-9. (Vynnychenko, Martos, Lototsky)

1928/00/00/

["Povidomlennia tymchasovoho uriadu pro podiiakh v Kyivi."] (5 July 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 155-6. [Re: the Polubotkivtsi and their attempt to stage a coup.]

1928/00/00/

["Promova na obied. zasid. vyk. kom. R.O.H.O. i preds. TsR"] (20/06/1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 128-9. [Warning to Prov. Govt. that if the Gen. Sec. is not rec'd, drastic steps will be taken.]

1928/00/00/

["Promova na obied. zasid. vyk. kom. R.O.H.O. i preds. TsR"] (24/06/1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 135. [The question of organizing an authoritative organ to take all power in Ukraine.]

1928/00/00/

["Promova pidchas politychnoi prohulky po Dnipri, zorhanizovana vyk. kom. R.O.H.O."] (19 June 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 127-8. [Vynnychenko on Ukrainian bourgoisie; role of Gen. Sec.; independence; 1st delegatio to Petrograd.]

1928/00/00/

["Rezoliutsiia na pershomu ukrainskomu viisk. zizdi."] (6 May 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 67.

1928/00/00/

["Rozmova po priamomu linii."] (7 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 441. [Demands recog of the UNR; explains neutrality re: Don and bolsheviks.]

1928/00/00/

["Telehramma tymchasovomu uriadi v spravi interviu iz frantsuzkym korrespondentom."] (10 Aug 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 202. [Reprinted from "Nova rada" no. 111.]

1928/00/00/

["Tsyrkuliar - poiasnennia do III-oho universalu."] (14 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 383-4.

1928/00/00/

["Vidpovid Litvakovomu."] (21 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 454. [Concerning the searches in the "Fransua" and "Semaden" restaurants.]

1928/00/00/

["Vidpovid Sorokinomu pro prohromy."] (19

Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 453. [Mentioned. "All measures are taken to assign troops to put an end to pogroms."]

1928/00/00/

["Vidpovid Sovnarkomu na ultymatum."] (4 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 433-4. [Repr. from "Litopys revoliutsii" no. 2 (1925)] (Vynnychenko and Petliura.)

1928/00/00/

["Zaiava hen. sekr. tymchasomovu uriadi v spravi sklykannia ukrainskoho narodnoho soiumu."] (17 Oct 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 297.

1928/00/00/

["Zaiava na zasid. maloi rady z pryvodu Kyivskykh podii."] (2 Dec 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 425-6. [Re: disarming of bol. troops; denial of secret talks; rumours of war with Russia...]

1928/00/00/

["Zaiava na zasid. predstavnykiv bankiv, tsukrozavodi..."] (11 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 378-9.

1928/00/00/

["Zaiava v spravi interviu iz frantsuzkym korrespondentom."] (10 Aug 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 202.

1928/00/00/

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefystofelia."] **Zapiski kurnosogo Mefistofelia.** Translated from Ukrainian. Edited by I. Aizenshtok. Kharkiv: Proletarii, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Babusyn podarunok." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka,

1928.

1928/00/00/
"Babusyn podarunok." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Babusyn podarunok. Introduction by Ol. Poltoratskyi. Kiev: Siaivo, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Babusyn podarunok. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Baryshenka." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Baryshenka." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Baryshenka. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Bilia mashyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Bilia mashyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Borotba." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Borotba." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Borotba: Z lystiv studenta, zaslanoho v saldaty. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Bosiak." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Bosiak: Povist. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Bozhky." In his **Tvory: Tom 19**. Compiled

by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Bozhky." In his **Tvory: Tom 19**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
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1928/00/00/
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1928/00/00/
Chest. Desheva biblioteka krasnoho pysmenstva, 157. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
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1928/00/00/
"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 29 Sept 1917]. In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 514-18.

1928/00/00/
"Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR." In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 475-9. (Vynnychenko, D. Korobenko et al.)

1928/00/00/
Dribnytsia: Moie ostannie slovo. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Fedko-khalamydnyk. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 151-2. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Fedko-khalamydnyk. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Fedko-khalamydnyk. Illustrated by P. Lapyna. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Hei, ty bochechko." [Written in 1928.]

1928/00/00/

Holod. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Holota." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Holota." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"K voiskam ukrainskogo fronta i tyla." (4 Dec 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 434. [Excerpts.]

1928/00/00/

"Khochu!" In his **Tvory: Tom 20.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Khochu!" In his **Tvory: Tom 20.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Khoma Priadka." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Khoma Priadka." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Khvostati." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Khvostati." In his **Tvory: Tom 8.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Ko vsem grazhdanam Ukrainy." (28 Oct 1917) In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 329-30. [Against the bolshevik uprising.] (Hen. Sek.)

1928/00/00/

"Kontrasty." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Kontrasty." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Kumediia z Kostem. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Kuplia. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 89-90. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Kuz ta Hrytsun. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Kyiv." In **Shyrokym krokom: Chytanka dlia doroslykh.** 2d edition. [Kharkiv]: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1928: 201.

1928/00/00/

Lantsiuh. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 71. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Malenka rysochka: Vyryvok z spomyniv. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Maloros-ievropeiets. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

["Memorandum tymchasovomu uriadu z pryvodu dopovnennia sklad Hen. Sek."] (13 Oct 1917) Excerpts in **1917 god na Kievshchine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kharkiv, 1928: 293.

1928/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Tvory: Tom 1.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Myr z tsentralnymy derzhavamy: 'Vidrodzhennia natsii' II tom." In **Beresteiskyi myr.** Compiled by I. Kedryn. Lviv-Kiev: Chervona Kalyna, 1928: 167-78.

1928/00/00/

"Na loni pryrody." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Na loni pryrody." In his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Na prystani. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 115. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Nad. [Kiev?], 1928. [Originally entitled "Mishchanka." Written in 1928 and published that year.]

1928/00/00/

"Narodnyi diiach." In his **Tvory: Tom** 8. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Narodnyi diiach." In his **Tvory: Tom** 8. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Ob taktyku ukraintsiv v teperishnyi moment." Speech deliv. at the 2d All-Ukrainian S. Cong. on 7 June 1917. In **1917 god na Kievshine**. Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 110-111. ["We have no capitalist class...]

1928/00/00/

"Olaf Stefenzon." In his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Olaf Stefenzon." In his **Tvory: Tom** 7. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Olaf Stefenzon. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Po-svii!" In his **Tvory: Tom 18**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Po-svii!" In his **Tvory: Tom 18**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Temna syla**. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Pryhody pivkarbovantsia." Staged: in 1928 in [Kiev?].

1928/00/00/
"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Radist. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 78-80. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Rivnovaha." In his **Tvory: Tom 27**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928? [This is his "Na vesakh zhizni."]

1928/00/00/
Roboty! Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Roboty!" In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Roboty!" In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Saldatyky." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Saldatyky" In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Slipyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Slipyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 7**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Solnechnaia mashina. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1928? [This is his "Soniachna mashyna."]

1928/00/00/
"Soniashna mashyna." 3 vols. In his **Tvory: Tom 23**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Student. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Sud." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Sud." In his **Tvory: Tom 8**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Sud. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmennstva, 110. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

["Syla i krasa."] "Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

["Syla i krasa."] "Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Taiemna pryhoda. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Talisman. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Talisman: Opovidannia. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Temna syla. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 95. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928. [Contains "Temna syla" and "Promin sontsia".]

1928/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 6**. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Teren. Cover by Zh. Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Teren. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 58-9. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. Kiev: RUKH, 1928. [Includes: "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi," "Bilia mashyny," "Holota," "Kontrasty," "Krasa i syla," "Mnimyi hospodin," "Zaruchyny."]

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyn. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyn. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 8. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyna. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928. [Includes: "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Sud," "Khoma Priadka," "Saldatyky," "Narodnyi diiach," "Khvostati."]

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 8. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyna. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928. [Includes: "Borotba," "Roboty!" "Sud," "Khoma Priadka," "Saldatyky," "Narodnyi diiach," "Khvostati."]

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 16: Chestnist z soboiu: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 19: Bozhky: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 19: Bozhky: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 20: Khochu! Roman. Compiled by

T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 20: Khochu! Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 21: Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 22: Zapovit batkiv: Roman. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 23: Soniashna mashyna. 3 vols. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"U hrafskomu maietku." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"U hrafskomu maietku." In his **Tvory: Tom 7.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Uvedomlenie gen. sek. ot 16(3) noiabria o perekhode vlasti na Ukraine v ruki sekretariata." (3 Nov 1917). In **1917 god na Kievshine.** Edited by V. Manilov. Kiev: Gos. Izd. Ukrainy, 1928: 525. (Gen. Sekr. Ukrainy.) [Repr. from "Kievskaia mysl." no. 265.]

1928/00/00/
Velykyi sekret: Komediia na 4 dii. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928. [Written in 1926?]

1928/00/00/
Vyryvky iz spomyniv. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1928.

1928/00/00/
"Zapovit batkiv." In his **Tvory: Tom 22.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/
Zapovit batkiv. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia. Introduction by And. Richytskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia." In his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia." In his **Tvory: Tom 21**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Zaruchyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1928.

1928/00/00/

"Zaruchyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1928.

1928/02/22/

"Odvertyi lyst dribnoho burzhui." **Ukrainski visti** 63 (Paris, Mar 10 1928). [Signed 22 Feb 1928.]

1928/03/10/

"Odvertyi lyst dribnoho burzhui." **Ukrainski visti** 63 (Paris, Mar 10 1928). [Signed 22 Feb 1928.]

1928/06/00/

"'Au souffle des vents, des vents furieux...'" **L'Ukraine Nouvelle** 1-2, no. 9 (June 1928 - June 1929). [This is his "Viiut vitry... viiut buini."] (V. Vynnyczenko)

1928/07/19/

"Odvertyi lyst do M. Gorkogo." **Ukrainski visti** 12 (Paris, 19 July 1928).

1928/08/02/

"Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychena do M. Gorkoho." **Dilo** 170 (2 Aug 1928): 2-3.

1928/08/06/

"Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychena do M. Gorkoho." **Novyi chas** 94-96 (Lviv, 6-10 Aug 1928).

1929

1929/00/00/
["[**Babusyn podarunok.**] [In Yiddish] Kharkiv, 1929.

1929/00/00/
["Poviia."] "Pershi literaturni kroky V. Vynnychenka." **Ukraina** (1929): 77-88. [A poem written in the 1890s.]

1929/00/00/
"'Au souffle des vents, des vents furieux..." **l'Ukraine Nouvelle** 7-10 (1929). [Written in 1922. This is his "Viiut vitry, viiut buini..."]

1929/00/00/
"Babusyn podarunok." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
Babusyn podarunok. Illustrations and cover by B. Kriukov. Kiev: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
Babusyn podarunok. Illustrations by P. Lapyna. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Bazar." In his **Tvory: Tom 11.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Bazar." In his **Tvory: Tom 11.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Bilia mashyny." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Bilia mashyny." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Bilia mashyny." In **Shyrokym krokom: Chytanka dlia doroslykh.** 2d ed. Edited by L. Iakymchuk. [Kharkiv]: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1928: 86-87.

1929/00/00/
["Borotba."] [In Russian] **Borba**. Trans. by E. Prikhodchenko. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Bosiak." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Chad." [Kiev?], 1929.

1929/00/00/
Chekannia. Desheva biblioteka krasnoho pysmenstva, 197. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Chest." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Chest." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Chuzhi liudy." In his **Tvory: Tom 11**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Chuzhi liudy." In his **Tvory: Tom 11**. Kharkiv: Khnyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Dym." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Dym." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Dyzharmoniia." In his **Tvory: Tom 9**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Fedko-khalamydnyk." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
[Fedko-khalamydnyk.] [In Russian] **Fedka-khalamidnik: Rasskaz**. Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Hei, khto v lisi obizvysia." [Written in 1929.]

1929/00/00/
"Hlum." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Holod." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Holod." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Holod." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
Holod. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Holota." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
Holota. Foreword by M. Novytskyi. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Hrikh." In his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Hrikh." In his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Khto voroh?." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Khto voroh?" In his **Rab krasy.** Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 241-3. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Khto voroh?" In his **Tvory: Tom 2:**

Opovidannia. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Khto voroh?" In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Khto voroh?" In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Kumediia z Kostem." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Kumediia z Kostem." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
["Kumediia z Kostem."] [In Tatar] **Kostijan'n bas'na kelgenler**. [Simferopol, 1929].

1929/00/00/
"Kuplia." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/
Kuplia. Ed. with a foreword by An. Lebed. Kiev: Siaivo, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/
Kuz ta Hrytsun. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 87. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

1929/00/00/
"Lantsiuh." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Lantsiuh." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Malenka rysochka." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Maloros evropyiets." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Maloros-evropyiets." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Maloros-evropyiets." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Memento." In his **Tvory: Tom 10**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Memento." In his **Tvory: Tom 10**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho pysmenstva, 195-6. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Moment." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Moment. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Na prystani." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

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1929/00/00/

"Na prystani." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Na prystani." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Na prystani." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Nad: P'iesa na chotyry dii. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Originally entitled "Mishchanka."]

1929/00/00/

Namysto: Zbirka opovidan. Cover design by V.H. Krychevskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Only cover available.]

1929/00/00/

"Oi, vypyla, vykhylyla..." [Written in 1929.]

1929/00/00/

"Panna Mara." In his **Tvory: Tom 15**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Panna Mara." In his **Tvory: Tom 15**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Pisnia Izraila. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [The typeface created for this work by V.H. Krychevskyi is considered his best.]

1929/00/00/

"Po-svii!" In his **Tvory: Tom 18**. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Povorot na Ukrainu. Lviv-Pshibram: Hrupa Ukrainskoi Sotsiialistychnoi Molodi "Vilna Hromada," 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Promin sontsia." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Rab krasy. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 241-3. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929. [Contains his "Rab krasy" and "Khto voroh?"]

1929/00/00/

"Rabyni spravzhnoho." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Rivnovaha." In his **Tvory: Tom 17**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Rivnovaha." In his **Tvory: Tom 17**. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Saldatyky." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Saldatyky!: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Saldatyky!: Maliunok iz selianskykh rozrukhiv. [Kharkiv]: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Shchabli zhyttia." In his **Tvory: Tom 9**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Shchos bilshe za nas." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Soniachna mashyna. 3 vols. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Student." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

["Talisman."] [In Russian]. **Talisman**. Trans. by E. Prikhodchenko. Moscow: Gos. Izd-vo, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Temna syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Temna syla." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Temna syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Chest, Dym, Holod, Khto voroh?, Lantsiuh, Maloros-evropyiets, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi.]

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929. [Chest, Dym, Holod, Khto voroh?, Lantsiuh, Maloros-evropyiets, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi.]

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia. 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Moment, Hlum, Rabyni spravzhnoho, Zapysna knyzhka, Kuplia, Kumediia z Kostem, Shchos bilshe za nas, Zina.]

1929/00/00/

•**Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929. [Bosiak, Radist, Teren, Talisman.]

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 9: Dramatychni tvory: Dyzharmoniia, Shchabli zhyttia. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 10: Dramatychni tvory: Velykyi molokh, Memento. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 11: Dramatychni tvory: Chuzhi liudy, Bazar. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 15: Dramatychni tvory: Panna Mara, Hrikh, Zakon. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 17: Rivnovaha. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 18: Po-svii: Roman. 2d ed. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** 2d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Velykyi molokh." In his **Tvory: Tom 10.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Velykyi molokh." In his **Tvory: Tom 10.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Vybrani tvory. Compiled, with an introduction by O. Hermaize. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929. [Includes: "Holota," "Bilia mashyny," "Khto voroh?" "Na prystani," "Rab krasy," "Kuz ta Hrytsun."]

1929/00/00/

Vybrani tvory. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929. [Kumediia z Kostem, Fedko, Babusyn podarunok, Na prystani, Bilia mashyny, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Holod, Mnimyi hospodin, Temna syla, Zina, Student,

1929/00/00/

Vybrani tvory. Edited by O. Oleksiieva. [Kharkiv]: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Vybrani tvory. Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. (continued)... Saldatyky, Promin sontsia, Talisman, Malenka rysochka, Shchos bilshe za nas, Khto voroh? Maloros-evropyiets.]

1929/00/00/

"Zakon." In his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv:

Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Zakon." In his **Tvory: Tom 15.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia: Roman. Foreword by And. Richytskyi. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1929.

1929/00/00/

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In Yiddish] Kharkiv, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Zapysna knyzhka." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Zina." In his **Tvory: Tom 3: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Cover by Tytarenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1929.

1929/00/00/

"Zina." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Ed. by O. Oleksiieva. Intro. by Ol. Paradyskyi. Kharkiv: DVU, 1929.

1929/02/15/

"Pryhody pivkarbovantsia." [Film] Produced on 15 Feb 1929.Stage prod.: M. Bazhan. Dir.: A. Lundin. Kiev: Vseukr. F.K.U., 1929. [Based on his " ? ." Also called "Poltinnik" and "Zaradi poltinnika."]

1929/04/20/

"Brekhnia" Staged:
in 1929 (Apr 20) in East Killodan, Man.

1929/09/07/

"Soniashna mashyna: Uryvok." **Ukrainski robitnychi visti** 107 (Winnipeg, 7 Sept 1929): 3.

1930

1930/00/00/

["Dopovid na druhomu vseukr. viisk. zizdi."] In **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros.** Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow: Izd. Kom. Akad., 1930. Vol. 3. Moscow: Izd. Kom. Akademii, 1930: 157-8. [Re: bezburzhuaznist Ukrainskoho narodu.]

1930/00/00/

"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi."] [In German]
"Der Theaterunternehmer Garkun-Sadunajskij." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Babusyn podarunok." In his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Babusyn podarunok. Illustrations by Ardt. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Baryshenka." In his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930. [Includes: "Bilia mashyny," "Rab krasy," "Na prystani," "Khto voroh," "Kuz ta Hrytsun."]

1930/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Bilia mashyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Bosiak." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Brekhnia."] [In Polish]
"Klamstvo." In his **Opowiadannia.** Trans. by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Chekannia. Illustrations by Iu. Kulpovych. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiata (24 Sept 1917)"] [In Russian]
"Izveshchenii Generalnogo Sekretariata o vstuplenii v upravlenie kraem." In **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros**. Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow: Izd. Kom. Akad., 1930: 188.

1930/00/00/
Fedko-khalamydnyk. Kharkiv: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1930.

1930/00/00/
Fedko-khalamydnyk: P'iesa na 4 rozdily i 9 odmin. Stage play by L. Bazhenova. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/
"Hei, chy pan, chy propav..." In his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 144-208.

1930/00/00/
"Hei, khto v lisi obizvysia." In his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 20-34. [Written in 1929.]

1930/00/00/
"Hei, ne spytsia." In his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 81-143.

1930/00/00/
"Hei, ty bochechko." In his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 35-52. [Written in 1928.]

1930/00/00/
["Holod."] [In German]
"Hunger." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Holod."] [In Bulgarian]
In his **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
Holod. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1930.

1930/00/00/
"Holota." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Holota."] [In Polish]
"Golizna." In his **Opowiadannia**. Trans. by W.G. Kharkiv:

DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Holota. Foreword by O. Tyshchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Holota. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Izbrani raskazi. (In Bulgarian) Kharkiv: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1930. Trans. by D.A.M. [Includes Vynnychenko 's "Student," "Holod," "Saldatyky," "Maloro-evropyiets, "Na prystani."]

1930/00/00/

"Khochu!" In his **Tvory: Tom 20.** Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. 2d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Khto voroh?"] [In German] "Wes ist der feind?." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] [In German] "Fedko der Lump." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Khvedko-khalamydnyk."] [In Polish] "Fedko-lobuz." In his **Opowiadannia.** Trans. by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Kontrasty." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Kuplia."] [In Polish] "Kupno." In his **Opowiadannia.** Trans. by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia.** Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Kuz ta Hrytsun."] [In German] "Kus und Griszun." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen.**

Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Kuz ta Hrytsun."] [In Polish]
"Kuz i Hrycun." In his **Opowiadannia**. Trans. by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Malenka rysochka."] [In German]
"Die kleine Runzel." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Malenka rysochka."] [In Bulgarian]
In his **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Maloros-evropyiets."] [In German]
"Der Kleinrussische Europaer." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Mnimyi hospodin."] **Feldfebelshchyna**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Moment."] [In Polish]
"Chwilka." In his **Opowiadannia**. Trans. by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
"Na loni pryrody." In his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/
"Na prystani." In his **Bilia mashyny ta inshi opovidannia**. Kharkiv: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/
["Na prystani."] [In Bulgarian]
In his **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/
Namysto: Razok pershyi. [Kharkiv]: RUKH, [1930].

1930/00/00/
["Obizhnyk V. Vynnychenka huberniialnym i povitovym komisaram pro vystupy proty UTsR."] [In Russian]

In **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros**. Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow: Izd. Kom. Akad., 1930: 189.

1930/00/00/

"Oi, vypyla, vykhylyla..." In his **Namysto: Razok pershyi**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 53-80. [Written in 1929.]

1930/00/00/

"Olaf Stefenzon." In his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Opovidannia."] [In Polish]
Opowiadania. Trans. by W.G. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930. [Includes: Holota, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Brekhnia, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Moment, Kuplia.]

1930/00/00/

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1930/00/00/

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"Donesenie V.K. Vinnichenko Vremennomu pravitelstvu ob iiulskikh sobytiiakh v Kieve." In **Revoliutsiia i natsionalnyi vopros**. Edited by S.M. Dimanshtein. Moscow: Izd. Kom. Akad., 1930: 169.

1930/00/00/

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1930/00/00/

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1930/00/00/

"Radist." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Saldatyky."] [In Bulgarian]
In his **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Saldatyky."] [In German]
"Soldaten." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Slipyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Soniachna mashyna. 3 vols. 3d ed. Kiev: Derzh. Vyd. Ukrainy, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Soniashna mashyna." 3 vols. In his **Tvory: Tom 23**. 3d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Student."] [In Bulgarian]
In his **Izbrani raskazi**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Sud. Foreword by T. Handzhulevych. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Syla i krasa."] "Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Ta nemaie hirsh nikomu." In his **Namysto**. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 209-30.

1930/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Talisman."] [In German]
"Der Talisman." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Temna syla."] [In German]
"Der blinde Kraft." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Temna syla. Desheva Biblioteka Krasnoho Pysmenstva, 345. Kharkiv: Ukrainskyi Robitnyk, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Teren." In his **Tvory: Tom 6: Opovidannia**. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930. [Includes: "Krasa i syla," "Zaruchyny," "Kontrasty," "Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, "Holota," "Bilia mashyny," "Mnimyi hospodin."]

1930/00/00/

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1930/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia. Compiled by T. Cherkaskyi. Cover by P. Lapyn. 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930. [Includes: "Olaf Stefenzon," "Baryshenka," "Babusyn podarunok," "Slipyi," "Na loni pryrody," "U hrafskomu maietku."]

1930/00/00/

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1930/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 23: Soniashna mashyna. 3 vols. 3d ed. Kiev: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"U hrafskomu maietku." In his **Tvory: Tom 7: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930.

1930/00/00/

"Viiut vitry, viiut buini..." In his **Namysto.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 7-19.

1930/00/00/

["Vybrani tvory."] [In German] **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen.** Kharkiv: DVU, 1930. [Holod, Zina, Kuz ta Hrytsun, Fedko-khalamydnyk, Saldatyky, Talisman, Malenka rysochka, Temna syla, Khto voroh, Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi, Maloros-evropyiets.]

1930/00/00/

["Z istorii ukrainskoi revoliutsii."] [In Russian] "Iz istorii ukrainskoi revoliutsii." In **Revoliutsiia na Ukraine po memuaram belykh.** Moscow: Gos. Izd-vo., 1930: 277-358.

1930/00/00/

"Za Sybirom sontse skhodyt." In his **Namysto.** Kharkiv: RUKH, 1930: 231-60.

1930/00/00/

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1930/00/00/

"Zaruchyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** 3d ed. Kiev: Knyhospilka, 1930.

1930/00/00/

["Zina."] [In German]
"Sina." In his **Ausgewahte Erzahlungen**. Kharkiv: DVU, 1930.

1930/01/16/
"Otkrytoe pismo k russkim pisateliam." In **Ukrainskaia zhizn** (Supplement to **Hun-Bao**) 926 (Kharbin, China, 16 Jan 1930): 3.

1930/04/12/
"Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid" Staged: in 1930 (Apr 12) in Winnipeg.

1931

1931/00/00/
"Antreprenor Harkun-Zadunaiskyi." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Bilia mashyny." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Bilia mashyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Borotba." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
Borotba. Foreword by O. Tyshchenko. Kharkiv: DVU, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Holota." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Holota." In his **Vybrani tvory**. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Vybrani tvory.** Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/

"Kontrasty." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/

"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (30 Oct 1911) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917.** By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 240-1. [Got married, wants children, found happiness.]

1931/00/00/

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (23 July 1912) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917.** By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 314-17.

1931/00/00/

["Lyst do Chykalenka."] (12 Jan 1909) In **Shchodennyk: 1907-1917.** By Ievhen Chykalenko. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna, 1931: 44-5. [Re: Chykalenko's criticisms of Vynnychenko 's "Memento."]

1931/00/00/

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (20? Nov 1915) Text in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny.** Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 85-8. [Re: "Slovo"]

1931/00/00/

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (22 Dec 1914) Text in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny.** Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 83-4.

1931/00/00/

"Mnimyi hospodin." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/

"Na prystani." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/

"Narodnyi diiach." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Rab krasy." In his **Vybrani tvory.** Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Roboty!" In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Saldatyky." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Sud." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
["Syla i krasa."] "Krasa i syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/00/00/
Talisman. Foreword by T. Zikeiev. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/
Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931. [Antreprenor, Bilia mashyny, Borotba, Holota, Kontrasty, Krasa i syla, Mnimyi hospodin, Narodnyi diiach, Roboty, Saldatyky, Sud, Zaruchyny.]

1931/00/00/
Vybrani tvory. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931. [Contains: Holota, Bilia mashyny, Khto voroh? Na prystani, Rad krasy, Kuz ta Hrytsun.]

1931/00/00/
Zapysna knyzhka. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1931.

1931/00/00/
"Zaruchyny." In his **Tvory: Tom 1: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.

1931/02/07/
"Prorok." Staged:
in 1931 (Feb 7) in East Killodan.

1931/04/00/

["Viiut vitry, viiut buini..."] [In French]
"Au souffle des vents, des vents furieux." Trans. by Juliette Pary. **Nouvel Age** 4 (Paris, Apr 1931): 326-30.

1931/07/04/
"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1931 (July 4) in Windsor.

1931/11/05/
"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1931 (Nov 5) in St. Boniface, Manitoba.

1931/12/24/
"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1931 (Dec 24) in Point Douglas.

1932

1932/00/00/
Bilia mashyny. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1932.

1932/00/00/
"Chest." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/
Chest. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1932.

1932/00/00/
"Do viiska ukrainskoho (pivdenno-zakhidnoho ta rumunskoho) frontu i tylu." Partial text in **Istoriia Ukrainy: 1917-1923**. Vol. 1. Uzhhorod: Osyp Tsiupka, 1932: 218.

1932/00/00/
"Dribnytsia." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/
"Dysharmoniia." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia**. Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Holod." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

Holota. Romany i Povisti, 21. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Khto voroh?" In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

Kuz ta Hrytsun. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1932.

1932/00/00/

[Kuz ta Hrytsun] Kuz shy Hrytsun. [In Moldavian]. Translated from Ukrainian by M. Lednev. Tyrashpil, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Lantsiuh." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Maloros-evropyiets." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Na prystani." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Rab krasy." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Shchabli zhyttia." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

Shini i vrezhmashu? [In Moldavian.] Balta-Taryshpil, 1932. [This is Vynnychenko 's "Khto voroh?"]

1932/00/00/

"Student." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Taiemna pryhoda." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

"Temna syla." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/00/00/

Temna syla. Kharkiv: Literatura i Mystetstvo, 1932.

1932/00/00/

Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia. Cover M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH,1932. [Chest, Dribnytsia, Dysharmoniia, Holod, Khto voroh? Kuz, Lantsiuh, Maloros, Na prystani, Rab krasy, Shchabli, Student, Taiemna pryhoda, Temna syla, Umirkovanyi.]

1932/00/00/

"Umirkovanyi ta shchyryi." In his **Tvory: Tom 2: Opovidannia.** Cover by M. Hlushchenko. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1932.

1932/04/30/

"Prorok." Staged:
in 1932 (Apr 30) in Winnipeg.

1932/11/19/

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1932 (Nov 19) in East Killodan.

1933

1933/00/00/

["Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia."] [In Slovak]
Zapisky piknoseho Mefista. Bratislava: Narodni Vyd. Spolochnost, 1933.

1933/04/22/

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged: in 1933 (Apr 22) in Toronto.

1933/04/29/

"Hrikh: Drama na try dii" Staged in 1933 (Apr 29) in East Killodan.

1933/07/10/

["Storinka z shchodennyka."] (Dated 10 July 1933). In **Mykola Skrypnyk**. By Ivan Koshelivets. Munich: Suchasnist, 1972: 244. [Concerning Skrypnyk's death.]

1933/09/00/

["Do politbiura TsK KP(b)U"] In **Za iaku Ukrainu**. By Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Paris, 1934: 8-22. [Re: Popov's talk at Kharkiv partaktyv.]

1933/09/15/

["Lyst do politbiura KP(b)U."] (15 Sept 1933) [Quoted in P.P. Liubchenko, "Vohon po natsionalistychnii kontrrevoliutsii ta po natsional-ukhylnykakh." **Chervonyi shliakh** 11-12 (1933).]

1933/12/00/

["Lyst do politbiura KP(b)U."] (15 Sept 1933) [Quoted in P.P. Liubchenko, "Vohon po natsionalistychnii kontrrevoliutsii ta po natsional-ukhylnykakh." **Chervonyi shliakh** 11-12 (1933).]

1933/12/17/

"Lyst do redaktsii." **Pratsia** 6 (Lviv, 17 Dec 1933).

1934

1934/00/00/

Za iaku Ukrainu. Paris, 1934

1934/00/00/

["Zapysky kyrpatcho Mefystofelia."] [In Czech] In **Narodni listy**. Translated by Bozhena Holechkova. Prague, 1934.

1934/01/27/

"Prorok." Staged:

in 1934 (Jan 27) in Winnipeg.

1934/04/00/

"Do politbiura TsK KP(b)U" In **Za iaku Ukrainu**. By Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Paris, 1934: 8-22.

1934/05/13/

"Prorok." Staged:
in 1934 (May 13) in Kirkland Lake.

1934/09/29/

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1934 (Sept 29) in Transcona.

1935

1935/07/00/

"Odvertyi lyst do Stalina i chleniv politbiura." **Trudova Ukraina** 6-7 (Prague, 1935).

1935/11/30/

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1935 (Nov 30) in Winnipeg.

1936

1936/00/00/

["Lyst do Iurkevycha, Levka."] (5 Nov 1915) Excerpts in D. Doroshenko, **Z istorii ukrainskoi politychnoi dumky za chasiv svitovoi viiny**. Prague: F. Herman, 1936: 85.

1936/00/00/

"Ukrainska oriientatsiia." **Ukrainskaia zhizn** 7.

1936/01/04/

"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1936 (Jan 4) in Winnipeg.

1936/01/19/

"Holota" Staged:

in 1936 (Jan 19) in Windsor, Ontario.

1936/04/04/
"Prorok." Staged:
in 1936 (Apr 4) in Port Arthur.

1936/05/06/
"Za ob'iednannia vsikh syl natsionalnoho kolektyvu." **Novyi chas** 100 (Lviv, 6 May 1936): 2-3.

1936/06/20/
"Meta i zasoby." In **Ukrainskyi holos** 21 (Winnipeg, 20 June 1936): 4.

1937

1937/01/20/
"Biohrafichni dani." **Pravda** 3 (Winnipeg, 20 Jan 1937): 2; 4 (27 Jan 1937): 3.

1937/02/13/
"Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do odnoho z providnykiv ukrainskykh sotsial-demokrativ u Prazi." (Dated 13 Feb 1937) [Concerning the Shvartsbardt trial.]

1937/02/16/
"Shchastia i konkordyzm." Lecture presented in Prague, 16 Feb 1937.

1937/02/18/
"Z druhoho lysta V. Vynnychenka do predstavnykiv ukrainskykh sotsiial-demokrativ." (Dated 18 Feb 1937).

1937/01/30/
"Pisnia Izraila" Staged:
in 1937 (Jan 30) in Calgary.

1937/03/31/
"Za iaku Ukrainu: V. Vynnychenko pro sebe." **Pravda** 13 (Winnipeg, 31 Mar 1937): 4.

1937/04/00/
"Z druhoho lysta V. Vynnychenka do predstavnykiv ukrainskykh sotsiial-demokrativ." (18 Feb 1937). **Orhanizatsiini visti oborony Ukrainy** 4 (Scranton, Apr 1937): 5-6.

1937/04/00/

"Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do odnoho z providnykiv ukrainskykh sotsial-demokrativ u Prazi." (13 Feb 1937) **Orhanizatsiini visti oborony Ukrainy** 4 (Scranton, Apr 1937): 5.

1937/11/03/

"Poklyk Volodymyra Vynnychenka do ukrainskoi trudovoi demokratii." **Pravda** 35 (Winnipeg, 3 Nov 1937): 1, 4.

1938

1938/00/00/

Pered novym etapom: Nashi pozytsii. Foreword by the Komitet vydannia tvoriv V. Vynnychenka. Toronto: Vpered, 1938.

1938/00/00/

Pered novym etapom: Nashi pozytsii. Foreward by K[yryl] S[tudynskyi]. Kolomyia: Ukrainska Partiia Nezalezhnykh Sotsiialistiv, Kraievyi Komitet, 1938.

1938/02/00/

"Plebistsyt na Ukraini." **Orhanizatsiini visti oborony Ukrainy** 2 (Scranton, Feb 1938): 3-6.

1938/02/00/

"Shchastia i konkordyzm." In **Zoria** 6-12 (San Pablo, Feb-Apr 1938); 22-24 (Aug-Dec 1938); 1-6 (Jan-June 1939).

1939

1939/09/00/

"Lyst V. Vynnychenka do ekzekutyvy O.U." **Orhanizatsiini visti oborony Ukrainy** 7 (Scranton, Sept 1939): 7-8.

1940

1940/03/00/

"Za derzhavnu voliu Ukrainy: Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do frantsuzkykh polytykiv." **Orhanizatsiini visti oborony Ukrainy** 3 (Scranton, Mar 1940): 4-5.

1945

1945/09/20/

"Z lystiv do redaktsii." **Ukrainska hromadska pora** 38 (Detroit, 20 Sept 1945): 1.

1946

1946/00/00/

"Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku." In his **Krasa i syla**. Augsburg: Zahrava, 1946: 49-102. (W. WV).

1946/00/00/

Krasa i syla. Edited by W. Slawko. Augsburg: Zahrava, [1946?]. [On verso of t.p.: Beauty and the strength. Includes his "Istoriia Iakymovoho budynku," "Kuz ta Hrytsun."] (W. WV).

1946/00/00/

"Kuz ta Hrytsun." In his **Krasa i syla**. Augsburg: Zahrava, 1946: 103-17.

1947

1947/08/14/

"Do vsikh ukrainskykh hrup i hromadskykh techii v emigratsii sushchykh zaklyk hrupy ukrainskykh konkordystiv." **Ukrainska hromadska pora** 33 (Detroit, 14 Aug 1947): 3.

1947/12/00/

"V. Vynnychenko pro sebe i pro ukrainskykh 'odnobichnykiv'." In **S'ohodni** 2 (Augsburg, Dec 1947): 4-6.

1948

1948/00/00/

Rozlad i pohodzhennia: Vidpovid moim prykhylnykam i neprykhylnykam. Regensburg: Nasha Borotba, 1948.

1948/00/00/

"Vidkrytyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Horkoho." **Ukrainski visti** (Neu Ulm, 1948).

1948/01/06/

["Lyst do Voropaia, Oleksy."] (6 Jan 1948) In **Iasyr**. Edited and compiled by Oleksa Voropai. London, 1966: 11-12.

1948/01/28/

"Pro svoiu literaturnu tvorchist na emigratsii." In **Ukrainski visti** 9 (Neu Ulm, 28 Jan 1948): 5.

1948/04/26/

"Bula, ie i bude." In **Ukrainski visti** 96 (Neu Ulm, 28 Nov 1948): 2-3; 97 (2 Dec 1948): 3. [Written on 26 April 1948.]

1948/06/17/

"Lyst do redaktsii." **Ukrainska hromadska pora** 24 (Detroit, 17 June 1948): 3-4.

1948/06/19/

"Holos Vynnychenka: Lyst do redaktsii." In **Ukrainski visti** 50 (Neu Ulm, 19 June 1948): 4; 51 (23 June 1948): 3-4.

1948/10/00/

"Do oseredku URDP 'Dunai': Vidpovid V. Vynnychenka." **Revoliutsiinyi demokrat** 1 (Munich, Oct 1948): 30-2.

1948/10/00/

"Z lysta V. Vynnychenka: Ioho dumky pro dekliaratsiiu UNR." **Revoliutsiinyi demokrat** 1 (Munich, Oct 1948): 30.

1948/10/02/

["Lyst do T. Osmachky."] "V. Vynnychenko pro deiaki nevidkladni spravy: Z lysta V. Vynnychenka do T. Osmachky." In **Ukrainski visti** 80 (Neu Ulm, 2 Oct 1948): 3.

1948/11/28/

"Bula, ie i bude." In **Ukrainski visti** 96 (Neu Ulm, 28 Nov 1948): 2-3; 97 (2 Dec 1948): 3.

1949

1949/00/00/

Nouveau commandement: Roman. Translated with an introduction by Suzanne Davon. Paris: Editions des Presses du Temps Present, 1949. [This is Vynnychenko 's "Nova zapovid."] (W. Winnitschenko)

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1968/00/00/

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1968/00/00/

"Talisman." In his **Opovidannia.** Edited and compiled by M. Molnar. Priashiv, 1968: 163-90.

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1969/00/00/

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1971

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1971/00/00/

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1971/11/10/

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1971/11/17/

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1973

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1974

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1974/02/00/

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1976

1976/00/00/

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1976/00/00/

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1976/00/00/

"Hei, khto v lisi, obizvysia." In his **Namysto.** Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1976.

1976/00/00/

"Hei, ne spytsia." In his **Namysto.** Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1976.

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1976/00/00/

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1976/00/00/

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1979

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1980

1980/00/00/

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1980/00/00/

["Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] History of this letter in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 470-2, 489. [He wanted to destroy it because he urged joining the UKP.]

1980/00/00/

["Lyst do Lenina."] (1 June 1920) Excerpts in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 432-3. [Sent to Lenin June 1 1920.]

1980/00/00/

["Lyst do Radeka."] (15 July 1920) Mentioned in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 446. [Vynnychenko asks for authorization from the 3d Internl. to be a repr. in America.]

1980/00/00/

["Lyst do TsK USDRP."] (May 1919). Mentioned in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 351, 363. [On the need to orient to world revolution.]

1980/00/00/

"Postanova #3." (25 Dec 1918). In **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk**. Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Re: allocation of 2 million rubbles to military commission for soldiers interned in Austria and Germany.]

1980/00/00/

Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920. Edited, introduced and annotated by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980.

1980/00/00/

"Shliub." Partial text in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920**. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 154-9, 219, 222, 232. [A novel never completed. First started on 22 Feb 1915.]

1980/00/00/

"Soniachna mashyna." Excerpts in his

Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 324, 334, 354-5, 407.

1980/00/00/

["Vichnyi imperatyv."] In his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York: CIUS & UVAN, 1980: 45, 415, 424. [Previously called "Boh-Ivanyshche," excerpts of this story are found here.]

1980/00/00/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (3 June 1920) In his **Shchodennyk, 1911-1920.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980.

1980/00/00/

["Vyryvky iz zapysok."] (9, 16, 19 June and 31 Aug 1920) In his **Shchodennyk, 1911-1920.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 435-7; 439-44; 473-4.

1980/00/00/

"Zakon pro posylku do Frantsii, Belhii ta Italii i Anhlii ta Ameryky dvokh nadzvychainykh torhovelno-finansovykh misii." In **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich, 1980: 198-9. (Makarenko, Petliura, Shvets, V.V.]

1980/00/00/

"Zakon pro sluzhbu v derzhavnykh ustanovakh uriadovtsiv chuzhozemnykh piddantsiv." (1 Jan 1919) **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Reprinted from I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 98.]

1980/00/00/

"Zakon pro sluzhbu v derzhavnykh ustanovakh uriadovtsiv chuzhozemnykh piddantsiv." (1 Jan 1919) **Symon Petliura: Zbirnyk.** Munich: UVU, 1980: 197. [Reprinted from I. Khrapko, **Zbirnyk zakoniv.** Vienna, 1919: 98.]

1980/00/00/

"Zlochynstvo." Excerpts in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 1: 1911-1920.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1980: 216-19.

1980/05/07/

"Student." In **Ukrainski visti** 19 (Detroit, 7 May 1980): 2-4.

1980/07/16/

["Odvertyi lyst V. Vynnychenka do M. Gorkoho."] "Vynnychenko proty Gorkoho." In **Ukrainski**

visti 29 (Detroit, 16 July 1980).

1980/07/23/

"Bula ie i bude." In **Ukrainski visti** 30 (Detroit, 23 July 1980): 2-4,6; 31 (30 July 1980): 2-3, 6. [On Gorky, Bukharin, and Fedotov.]

1983

1983/00/00/

"Dekliaratsiia Dyrektorii UNR." [Dated 26 Dec 1918]. In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka**. Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 408-12. (Vynnychenko, Pet., Shvets, Andriievskyi, Makarenko).

1983/00/00/

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 27 Sept 1917]. In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka**. Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 313-14.

1983/00/00/

["Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariatu UTsR."] "Persha dekliariatsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 26 June 1917]. In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka**. Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 299-303. (Khrystiuk).

1983/00/00/

"Dekliaratsiia Heneralnoho Sekretariiatu." [Dated 29 Sept 1917]. In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka**. Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 315-21.

1983/00/00/

["Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR koalitsiinomu ministerstvu ta vykonavchomu komitetovi rady rob. ta soldatskykh dep."] "Ukrainska TsR i tymchasovyi uriad Rosii." In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka**.

1983/00/00/

["Dokladna zapyska delegatsii UTsR= continued..Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 286-93. (Vynnychenko, D. Korobenko, Pysmennyi, D. Rovynskyi, Ol. Pylkevych, A. Cherniavskyi, S. Iefremov, I. Snizhnyi, H. Odynets).

1983/00/00/

["Lyst do kliasovo-nesvidomoi ukrainskoi inteligentsii"] "Vynnychenko pro radiansku vladu na Ukraini - I." In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka.** Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 457-62.

1983/00/00/

["Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] "Vol. Vynnychenko pro radiansku vladu na Ukraini - II." In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka.** Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 462-71.

1983/00/00/

["Lyst pro ukrainski ustanovchi zbory."] "V.V. pro ukrainsku derzhavnist." In**Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka.** Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 322-5.

1983/00/00/

"Rano vtomliuvatys." In **Ukrainska suspilno-politychna dumka.** Vol. 1. Hunczak and Solchanyk. N.Y., 1983: 401-3.

1983/00/00/

Shchodennyk: Tom 2: 1921-1925. By V. Vynnychenko. Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1983.

1983/00/00/

"Zaiava." (Dated July-Aug 1921) Quoted in his **Shchodennyk: Tom 2.** Edited by Hryhorii Kostiuk. Edmonton-New York, 1983: 12.

1983/01/23/

["Vidrodzhennia natsii: Tom 2."] "Narode Ukrainy!" In **Ukrainski visti** 4 (23 Jan 1983): 1. [Pages 244-245 of vols 2 of "Vidrodzhennia natsii."]

1985

1985/03/17/

"Strashnyi dokument: Zrada V. Vynnychenka." **Shliakh peremohy** (17 Mar 1985): 3-4. [A reprint of Vynnychenko 's "Antantsko-ukrainska komediia" from **Avanti** (23 May 1920.

1985/04/00/

"Druha storona medali: Strashnyi

dokument." **Ukrapres** vol. 4, no. 29 (Mar-Apr 1985): 13-16. [A reprint of Vynnychenko's "Antantsko-ukrainska komediia" with a foreword.] doba 37 (13 Nov 1920): 1-2; 38 (20 Nov 1920): 2-4; 39 (28 Nov 1920): 2-4. [Does not include his "Lyst do ukrainskykh robitnykiv i selian."] (Vynnychenko & Levynsky)

Unpublished

9999/99/99/
"Atelie shchastia." [Written in August 1925. Unpublished? However, SEE "Poklady zolota."]

9999/99/99/
"Konkordyzm." [Unpublished manuscript originally entitled "Knyha pro shchastia."]

9999/99/99/
"Krylati povzuny" [A play. Parts written in February 1916. Unpublished?]

9999/99/99/
"Leprozorii." [Another name for his unpublished work "Prokazhelnia."]

9999/99/99/
"Pomirkovanyi ta shchyryi." [Never published. The main character is based on an Ukrainian American Oleksander Borodai who re-emigrated to Ukraine ca. 1900.]

9999/99/99/
"Soiashnyk." [Completed 15 June 1915. Unpublished.]

9999/99/99/
"Svitovyi myr bez viiny -- ni hariachoi, ni kholodnoi." [Written in January 1951 (his last article). Unpublished.]

9999/99/99/
"Vichnyi imperatyv." [Excerpts written in September-October 1919. Unpublished. Originally called "Boh-Ivanyshche", later "Hospod Boh-Ivanyshche," later "Radio-Harmata," and finally "Vichnyi imperatyv."]

9999/99/99/
"Zaporizka sich." [Written in 1894.

Unpublished. Unavailable.]